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## ABSTRACT

This chart book is designed to document current differences in well-being by race and Hispanic origin and to describe how such differences have evolved over the past several decades. The charts included in this book show key indicators of well-being in seven broad categories: (1) population; (2) education; (3) labor markets; (4) economic status; (5) health; (6) crime and criminal justice; and (7) housing and neighborhoods. Each section begins with a brief introduction and overview of the charts presented. This information provides a benchmark for measuring future progress and can highlight priority areas for reducing disparities across racial and ethnic groups. All the racial and ethnic groups considered here have experienced substantial improvements in well-being over the second half of the century, but disparities between groups have persisted, or in some cases, widened. An example is the decline in the relative economic status of Hispanics over the past 25 years, reflecting the increasing proportion of Hispanics with lower average levels of education, in large part because of immigration. The section on education, which makes disparities in educational attainment and achievement clear, contains information on family participation in literacy activities and preschool education. One chart reviews computer use by elementary school children, and two charts cover reading and mathematics proficiency scores, both of which have implications for the pursuit of higher education. Three charts focus on the educational attainment of adults over 25 years old. An appendix provides a list of other government publications and Internet addresses for more information.

# UD

# Changing AMERICA

INDICATORS *of* SOCIAL *and*  
ECONOMIC WELL-BEING *by*  
RACE *and* HISPANIC ORIGIN

BY THE COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS



FOR THE PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVE ON RACE

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# *Changing* AMERICA

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FOR THE PRESIDENT'S INITIATIVE ON RACE

September 1998

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The Bureau of the Census  
The Bureau of Justice Statistics  
The Bureau of Labor Statistics  
The Department of Housing and Urban Development  
The National Center for Education Statistics  
The National Center for Health Statistics

We also thank the President's Initiative on Race and the Statistical Policy Office of the Office of Management and Budget for their extensive comments and assistance.

The data on which charts are based, and a copy of *Changing America*, can be found online at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/WH/EOP/CEA/html/publications.html>.

## Presidential Foreword

**A**s we approach the 21st century, America is once again a nation of new promise, with the opportunity to become the world's first truly multiracial, multiethnic democracy. In as few as 50 years, there may be no majority race in our nation. This rich and growing diversity should be a source of great pride and strength as we enter the new millennium.

In June 1997, I launched The President's Initiative on Race: One America in the 21st Century, in part to educate Americans about the facts surrounding the issue of race in America. I appointed an Advisory Board of seven distinguished Americans to help lead this national conversation. I also asked my entire Administration to participate in this effort and called upon all Americans to recognize the lingering problems and limitless possibilities of our diversity. We face a variety of racial challenges in our country, many of them deeply rooted in our history. If we are to harness the great opportunities within these challenges, we must better understand the contours and nature of racial issues.

By providing much needed information about racial disparities, this statistical chartbook provides the basis for an informed discussion about the problems faced by people of different races and backgrounds in America. There is much good news here, with improvements over the past 20 years for all Americans in education, in economic status, and in health. But in far too many areas, there are still troubling disparities between people of color and other Americans.

Understanding the disparities highlighted in this book is important, but to widen the circle of opportunity for all Americans, we must also continue to act. We must make sure that our federal, state, and local governments, our public schools, our health care system, and our courts deal fairly with all people and provide equal opportunities for every American to participate fully in our society. We must also reach out to our neighbors and co-workers of other races or ethnicities, for it is only by getting to know one another that we will realize that what unites us is far stronger than what divides us.

Only by honestly confronting the walls that continue to separate us, can we break down those walls and move closer to creating a community in which we recognize diversity as a source of strength rather than a cause of division. A decade from now, I hope that people will look back and see that this Initiative made a difference by supplying much needed information, encouraging conversation, and inspiring concrete actions to provide equal opportunity for all Americans. I hope that when we revisit the facts and trends presented in this book, we will see much progress in closing racial gaps. Above all, I hope we will continue to build on that progress, and continue to build one America in the 21st Century.

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## I. Introduction

*"I believe the greatest challenge we face . . . is also our greatest opportunity. Of all the questions of discrimination and prejudice that still exist in our society, the most perplexing one is the oldest, and in some ways today, the newest: the problem of race. Can we fulfill the promise of America by embracing all our citizens of all races? . . . In short, can we become one America in the 21st Century?"*

**President Clinton**

President's Initiative on Race Announcement at the University of California at San Diego Commencement, 1997

This chart book is intended to document current differences in well-being by race and Hispanic origin and to describe how such differences have evolved over the past several decades. It has been produced for the President's Initiative on Race by the Council of Economic Advisers in consultation with the Federal statistical agencies. The book is designed to further one of the goals of this initiative: to educate Americans about the facts surrounding the issue of race in America.

The charts included in this book show key indicators of well-being in seven broad categories: population, education, labor markets, economic status, health, crime and criminal justice, and housing and neighborhoods. This information provides a benchmark for measuring future progress and can highlight priority areas for reducing disparities in well-being across racial and ethnic groups, another goal of the President's Initiative on Race. The indicators in the charts were selected on the basis of their importance for economic and social well-being, as well as the quality and availability of data (for example, availability of longer time trends or information on more groups). A book of this size cannot encompass all important aspects of social and economic life. Instead, these charts are a place to begin. The appendix indicates how to access additional information on these topics from Federal government agencies.

The American record of the past 50 years has been one of tremendous progress in areas such as education, health and longevity, and economic growth, but deterioration in other areas, such as incarceration rates, divorce, and the likelihood that a child is born outside of marriage. Life expectancy at birth increased from 68 years to 76 years between 1950 and 1996, and the infant mortality rate has fallen from 29 per thousand live births to 7 over the same period. Per capita income, adjusted for inflation, has more than doubled since 1950. The proportion of American adults with a high school education increased from 34 percent in 1950 to 82 percent in 1996. The fraction of households living in inadequate housing fell from 10.2 percent in 1976 (the first year for which data are available) to 6.5 percent in 1995.

Although all racial and ethnic groups considered here have experienced substantial improvements in well-being over the second half of this century, disparities between groups have persisted or, in some cases, widened. Blacks, Hispanics, and American Indians continue to suffer disadvantages in opportunity and in material and physical well-being. These disadvantages appear in many arenas, but they are larger in some than in others. For example, although the Hispanic poverty rate is far higher than that of non-Hispanic whites, differences in infant mortality between Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites are relatively modest. Blacks have nearly closed the gap with non-Hispanic whites in the attainment of a high school degree, but the gap between blacks and non-Hispanic whites in the completion of a four-year college degree has widened.

Several themes emerge from the data presented in this document.

- Race and ethnicity continue to be salient predictors of well-being in American society. On average, non-Hispanic whites and Asians experience advantages in health, education, and economic status relative to blacks, Hispanics, and American Indians.
- Over the second half of the 20th century, black Americans have made substantial progress relative to whites in many areas. But this progress generally slowed, or even reversed, between the mid-1970s and the early 1990s. In many cases, large disparities persist.
- The relative economic status of Hispanics has generally declined over the past 25 years. However, the Hispanic population has grown rapidly, more than doubling in size between 1980 and 1997, in large part because of immigration. Thus, in interpreting trends in the relative well-being of Hispanics, it is important to keep in mind that the increasing representation of Hispanic immigrants with lower average levels of education and income has contributed to the decline in average Hispanic social and economic well-being.
- Asians and Pacific Islanders, on average, are nearly as well-off as non-Hispanic whites according to many indicators. There is great diversity within this population, however, and some subpopulations are quite disadvantaged. The fact that Asians have both a higher median income and a higher poverty rate than non-Hispanic whites, for example, illustrates the economic diversity of the Asian population.
- American Indians are among the most disadvantaged Americans according to many available indicators, such as poverty rate and median income, although comparable data for this group are sparse due to their small representation in the population.

The charts in this book generally show averages or medians of indicators for each race or Hispanic origin category and therefore do not attempt to capture the diversity within these groups. For instance, Cuban Americans have much higher median family income than Dominican Americans according the 1990 census, but both are included in the "Hispanic" category. Median family income for Japanese Americans was more than twice that of Cambodian, Laotian, and Hmong Americans in 1990, but all are included in the "Asian and Pacific Islander" category. Diversity exists within all groups, including diversity across ethnic groups within the non-Hispanic white population. Unfortunately, this book does not have the space to present data for all subpopulations, nor do such data exist for many indicators. Nonetheless, the population categories shown here are among the most salient in America today.

The classification of individuals by race and ethnicity is a complex and controversial undertaking. The concepts of race and ethnicity lack precise and universally accepted definitions. Their economic and social significance depend on a variety of factors, including how individuals identify themselves racially or ethnically and how others identify and treat them. Most of the data collected by the Federal statistical agencies are classified by self-reported race and ethnicity. (Notable exceptions are mortality statistics.) Most of these data are collected through household surveys and the decennial censuses, in which respondents are asked to identify their race in one question and whether or not they are of Hispanic origin in a separate question. Whenever possible, data for the following five categories are presented:

- Hispanic, may be of any race,
- White, not of Hispanic origin,
- Black, not of Hispanic origin,
- Asian, including Pacific Islander,
- American Indian, including Alaska Native (Alaskan Eskimo and Aleut).

In this book, categories of race and Hispanic origin are labeled as they were labeled in most of the surveys at the time the data were collected. For example, the terms "black" and "Hispanic" are used rather than "African American" or "Latino." It should be noted, however, that the Office of Management and Budget revised the standards for classifying Federal data on race and ethnicity in October 1997. The new standards permit respondents to mark one or more race categories on survey questionnaires and other Federal reporting forms. In addition, the "Asian and Pacific Islander" category has been divided into two categories: "Asian" and "Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander." The "black" category has been changed to "Black or African American." There will continue to be a separate question on Hispanic origin, which will have two categories: "Hispanic or Latino" and "Not Hispanic or Latino."

Published data are not always available for all of the groups described above. At times statistics are lacking because survey sample sizes are too small to yield reliable estimates for smaller populations such as American Indians or Asians. (In some cases, data from the 1990 census are presented for these groups.) In addition, statistical agencies tabulate published data using different classifications. For example, as noted above, Hispanics may be of any race. Some agencies tabulate data for Hispanics but also include Hispanics in tabulations for the categories white and black. In a few cases, agencies have changed the way they tabulate data over time as well. The labels and notes for each chart indicate these differences in data classification. (Unless otherwise noted, data for Asians include Hispanic Asians, and data for American Indians include Hispanic American Indians.)

This book is divided into seven sections. Each section begins with a brief introduction and an overview of the charts presented in that section. These introductions provide background information on the concepts addressed in the section, including references to some key research articles. In addition, each chart is accompanied by bullet points, which highlight the important information in the chart and also provide related information that may not appear in the charts. The appendix provides a list of other government publications and internet addresses where the reader can find more information on all of the topics covered in this book.

## **II. Population**

The population of the United States is becoming increasingly diverse. In recent years, Hispanics and minority racial groups<sup>1</sup>—non-Hispanic blacks, Asians, and American Indians—have each grown faster than the population as a whole (Population 1). In 1970 these groups together represented only 16 percent of the population. By 1998 this share had increased to 27 percent. Assuming current trends continue, the Bureau of the Census projects that these groups will account for almost half of the U.S. population by 2050. Although such projections are necessarily imprecise, they do indicate that the racial and ethnic diversity of the United States will grow substantially in the next century.

Immigration has played a major role in increasing diversity of the population by contributing to the rapid growth of the Asian and Hispanic populations since the 1960s. In 1997, 38 percent of the Hispanic population and 61 percent of the Asian population were foreign-born, compared with 8 percent of the white population, 6 percent of the black population, and 6 percent of the American Indian population (Population 2). The increased immigration of Asians and Hispanics over the past several decades is largely the result of changes in immigration policy. In particular, the 1965 Immigration Act ended the system of national origin quotas that had previously restricted immigration from non-European countries.<sup>2</sup> The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 also contributed to the increase in the documented Asian and Hispanic populations by legalizing a large number of immigrants.

While immigration of Asians and Hispanics has increased, population growth has slowed dramatically for the nation as a whole, largely due to declining fertility rates among non-Hispanic blacks and non-Hispanic whites. As a result of this declining fertility, the non-Hispanic white share of the population has fallen since 1970, and the non-Hispanic black share of the population has increased only slightly.

Changes in racial and ethnic identification have also contributed to the increase in (measured) racial and ethnic diversity. These changes are most important for the American Indian population, which has increased more in recent years than can be accounted for by deaths, births, immigration, and improvements in census coverage. The increase in the American Indian population suggests that people are more likely to identify themselves as American Indian in the census than they were in the past.<sup>3</sup>

National changes in the composition of the population mask differences across and within regions. (Population 3). The geographical distribution of racial and ethnic groups is important because it influences the potential for social and economic interaction between them. According to Census Bureau projections, in 1995 the West had the highest concentration of minorities (36 percent), followed by the South (30 percent), the Northeast (23 percent), and the Midwest (15 percent). Non-Hispanic blacks are most likely to live in the South, while Asians, Hispanics, and American Indians are most likely to live in the West.

Racial composition also varies from the center cities of metropolitan areas, to the suburbs (metropolitan areas outside center cities), to nonmetropolitan areas. Hispanics, blacks, and Asians are more likely than non-Hispanic whites to live in central cities—in 1996 more than half of blacks and Hispanics and nearly half of Asians lived in central cities, compared with less than a quarter of non-Hispanic whites (Population 4). In contrast, over half of all non-Hispanic whites lived in the suburbs in 1996, as did 48 percent of Asians. American Indians are by far the most likely to live in nonmetropolitan areas; in 1990 nearly half of the American Indian population lived outside of metropolitan areas.

As the population becomes more diverse, opportunities for social interaction with members of other racial and ethnic groups should increase. Intergroup marriage (marriage between persons of different races or Hispanic origin) is one measure of social interaction (Population 5). The number of interracial married couples (marriage between persons of different races) has increased dramatically over the past several decades, more than tripling since 1960. However, interracial married couples still represented only about 2 percent, and intergroup couples 4 percent, of all married couples in 1990.<sup>4</sup>

Many demographic characteristics affect economic and social status and play some role in explaining differentials in well-being among the populations discussed in this book. For instance, immigration has lowered the relative socioeconomic status of the U.S. Hispanic population, since Hispanic immigrants tend to have lower levels of education and income than the Hispanic population as a whole.

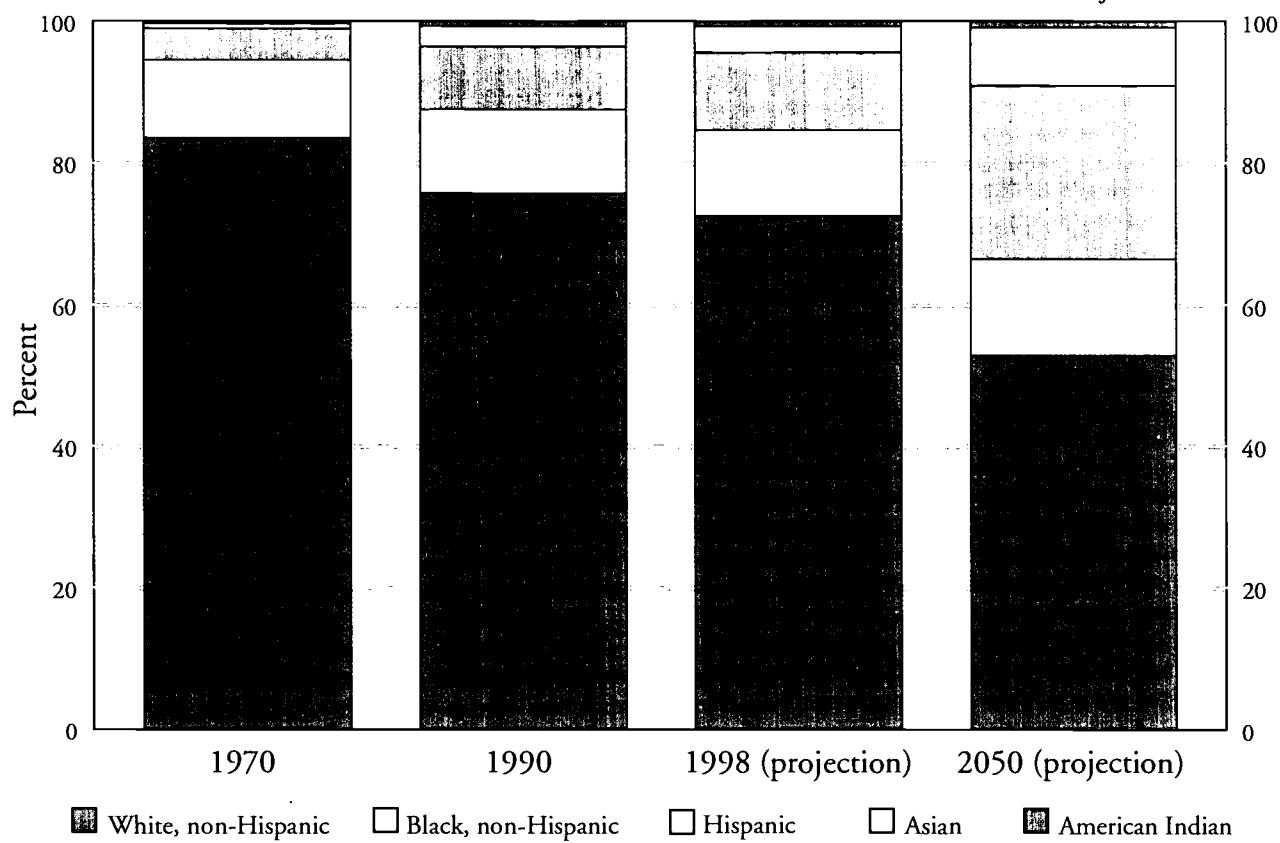
Other demographic characteristics with important effects on social and economic status include household structure and age distribution. In particular, growth of child poverty has often been associated with the rising share of single-parent families. Since 1970 the fraction of families maintained by a single parent has increased for all groups (Population 6) and is highest among blacks (38 percent), American Indians (26 percent), and Hispanics (26 percent). Household structure is also affected by economic status; for example, the greater tendency of the elderly to head their own households has been linked to their growing wealth.

Differences in the age distribution of populations (Population 7) may affect their rates of growth as well as differences in average economic and social well-being. For example, poverty rates are highest among children, and rates of criminal activity are highest among young adults. On average, the non-Hispanic white population is considerably older than the population as a whole. Only 24 percent of the non-Hispanic white population is below the age of 18, compared with about 30 percent of non-Hispanic blacks and Asians and about 35 percent of American Indians and Hispanics. Differences in age distributions between racial and ethnic groups reflect differences in death rates, fertility rates, rates of net immigration, and the age of immigrants.

1. For the purposes of this report, the term "minority" is used to refer to racial and ethnic groups that are less than 50 percent of the population.
2. Harrison, Roderick J. and Claudette E. Bennett. 1995. "Racial and Ethnic Diversity." In *State of the Union: America in the 1990s*, ed. Reynolds Farley. Vol. 2: Social Trends. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
3. Passel, Jeffrey S. 1996. "The Growing American Indian Population, 1960-1990: Beyond Demography." In *Changing Numbers, Changing Needs: American Indian Demography and Public Health*, ed. Gary D. Sandefur, Ronald R. Rindfuss, and Barney Cohen. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
4. Harrison and Bennett. "Racial and Ethnic Diversity."

## 1. Racial/Ethnic Composition of the Population

Source: Bureau of the Census

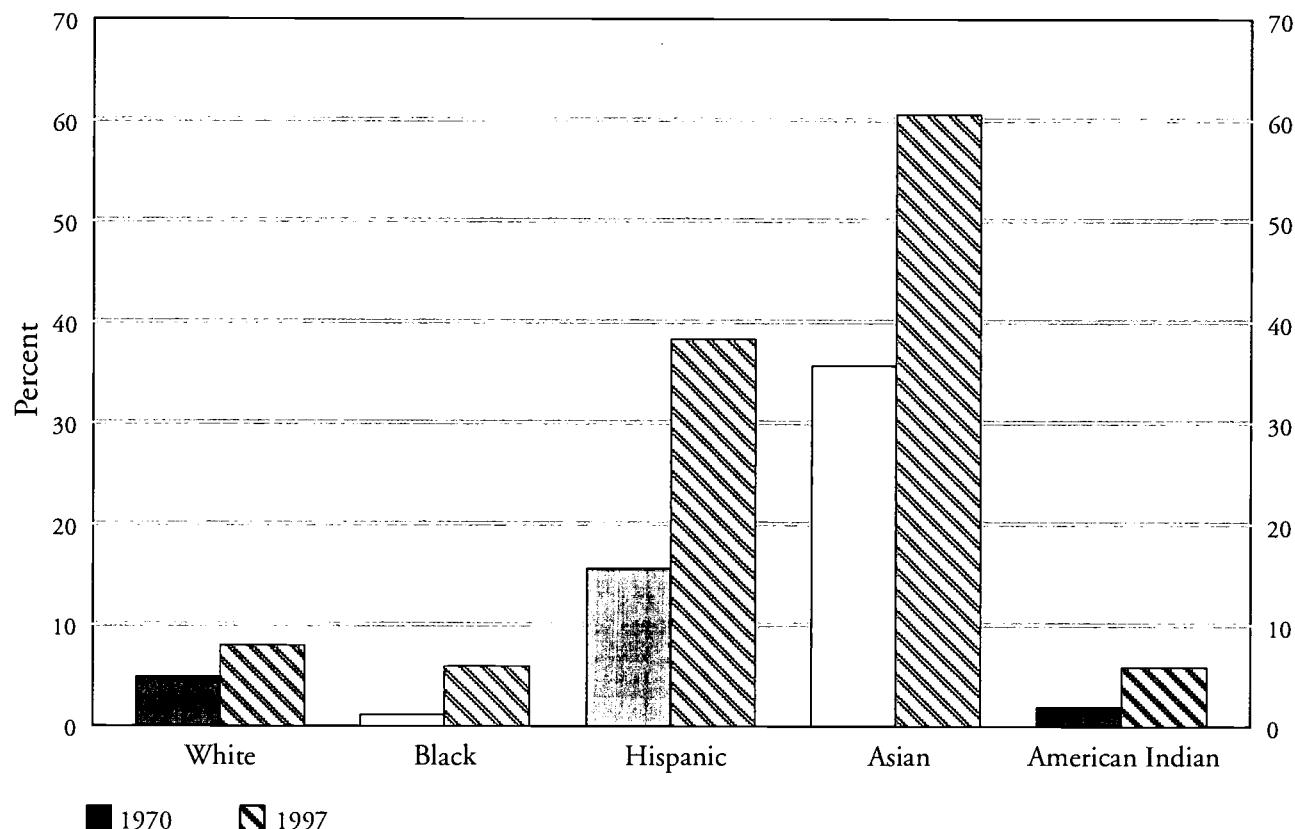


- The share of the U.S. population that is non-Hispanic black, Asian, Hispanic, and American Indian has increased since 1970. The American Indian population has grown more than can be accounted for by birth rates, death rates, and immigration, suggesting that a substantial portion of this increase has resulted from increased reporting of American Indian racial identification.
- If recent demographic trends continue, Asians, non-Hispanic blacks, Hispanics, and American Indians together will approach 50 percent of the population by the year 2050.
- Around the year 2005, Hispanics, who may be of any race, are projected to be the largest of the minority groups considered here.

*Note: Data for Asians exclude Hispanic Asians, and data for American Indians exclude Hispanic American Indians. In 1970, data for Asians are for Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, Koreans, and Hawaiians.*

## 2. Foreign-Born Population

Source: Bureau of the Census

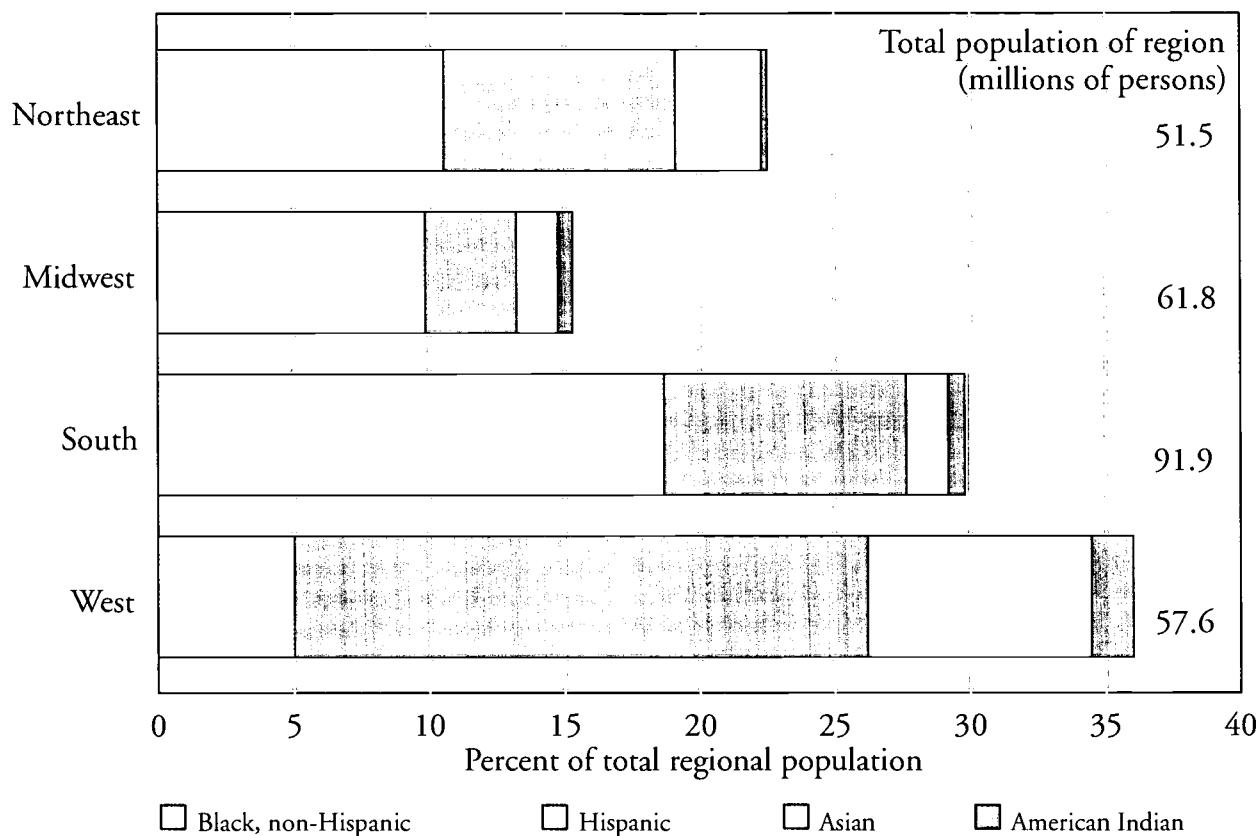


- Among all groups, the fraction of the population that is foreign-born increased between 1970 and 1997.
- As of 1997, 61 percent of the Asian population and 38 percent of the Hispanic population were foreign-born. In contrast, only 8 percent of whites, 6 percent of blacks, and 6 percent of American Indians were foreign-born.
- The immigrant population represents a wide range of social and economic backgrounds. On average, Asian immigrants are highly educated and have high incomes. Hispanic immigrants, along with immigrants from some Asian countries, have relatively low average levels of educational attainment and income.

Note: In 1970, data for Asians are for Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, Koreans and Hawaiians.

## 3. Minority Population by Region, 1995

Source: Bureau of the Census

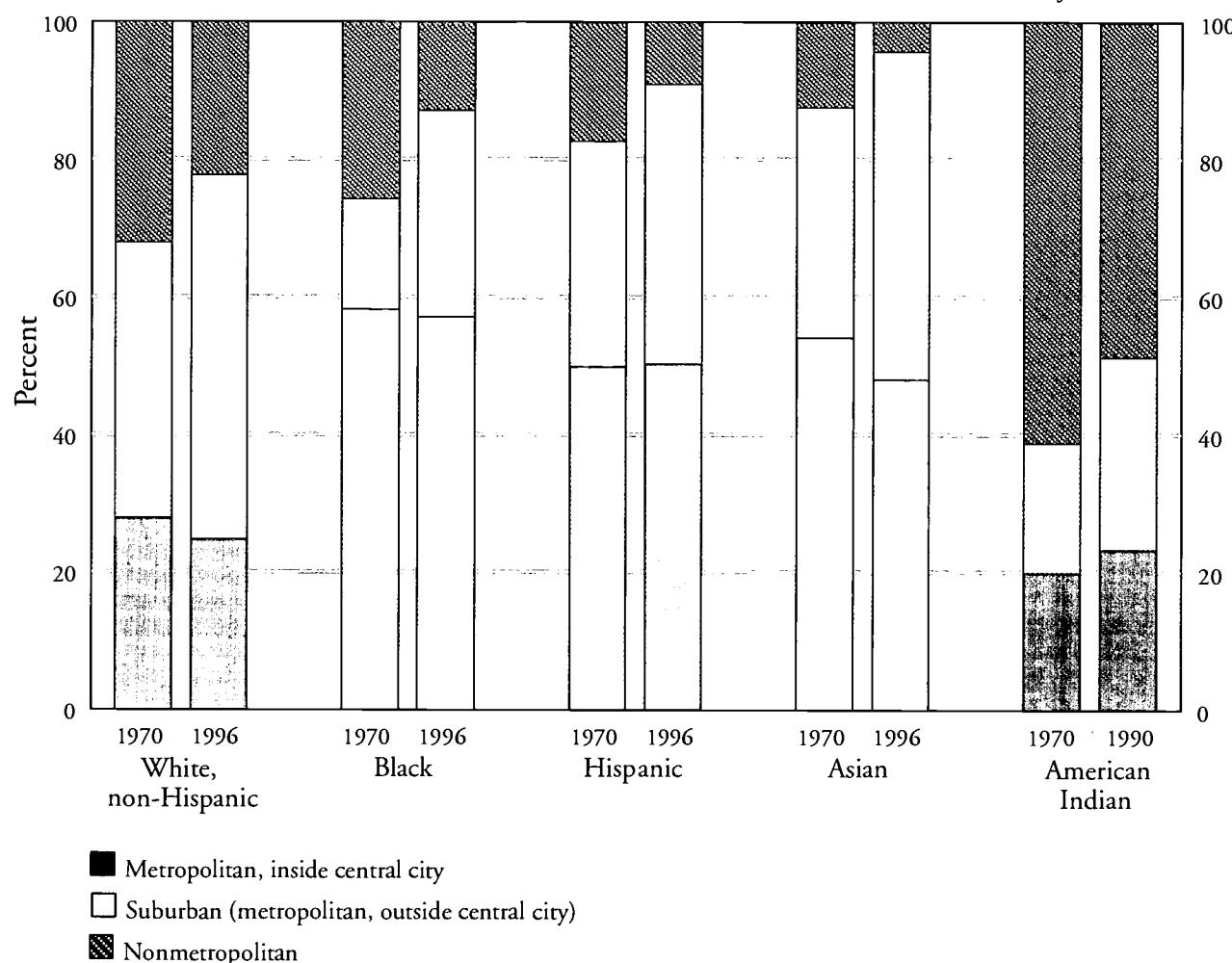


- Hispanics and members of racial minority groups are not evenly distributed across regions of the country. The differing distribution of these populations across regions may contribute to differences in individuals' experiences of racial and ethnic diversity.
- The highest concentration of Hispanics and members of racial minority populations is found in the West (36 percent), followed by the South (30 percent), the Northeast (23 percent), and the Midwest (15 percent).
- More than half of non-Hispanic blacks live in the South. About half of American Indians, Hispanics, and Asians live in the West.
- In general, the minority share of the population has increased in all four regions since 1970 (not shown in chart). The Hispanic population has grown considerably in the West and the South, and the Asian population has grown considerably in the West.

*Note: Data for Asians exclude Hispanic Asians, and data for American Indians exclude Hispanic American Indians. Data are projections based on the 1990 census.*

## 4. Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Residence

Source: Bureau of the Census



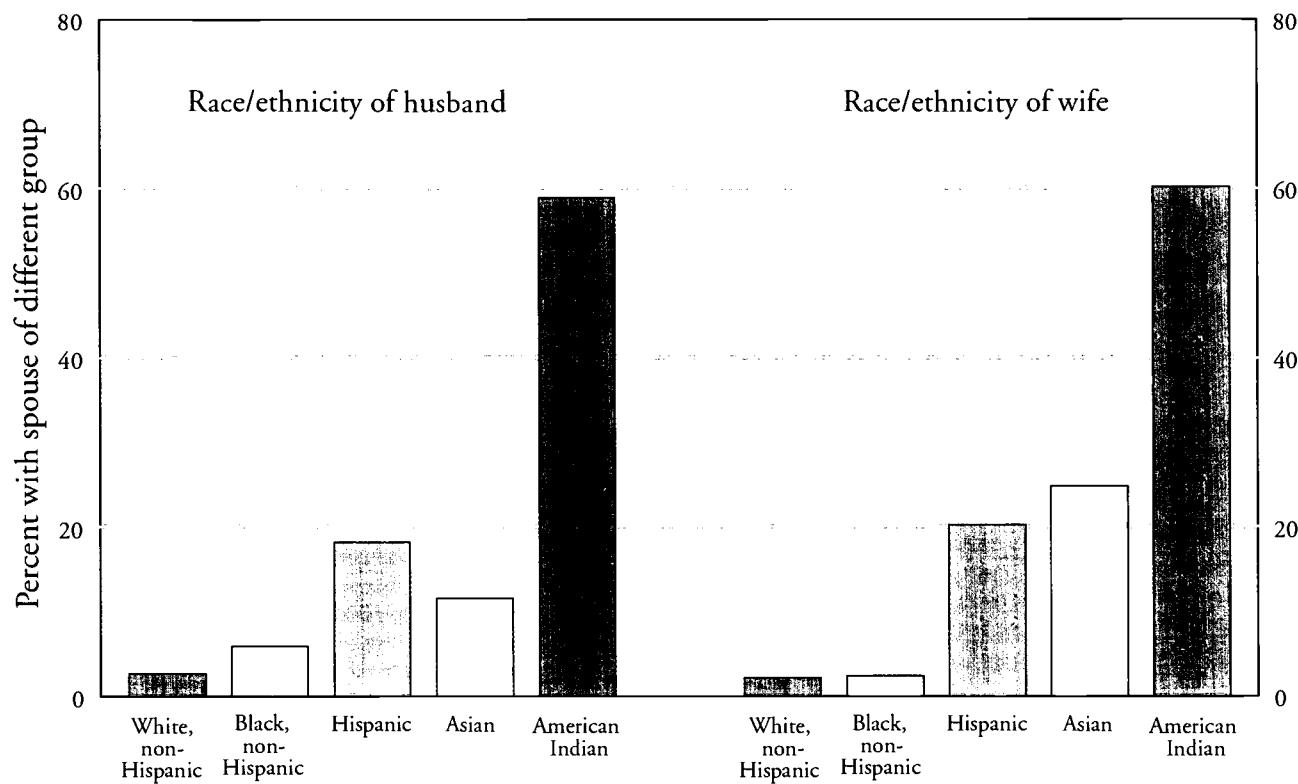
- Metropolitan, inside central city
- Suburban (metropolitan, outside central city)
- ▨ Nonmetropolitan

- Residents of nonmetropolitan, central city, and suburban areas may have different public service needs and different political interests.
- Blacks, Asians, and Hispanics are more likely to live in central cities of metropolitan areas than are non-Hispanic whites or American Indians.
- A large percentage of non-Hispanic whites and Asians live in suburbs. The fraction living in suburbs has increased since 1970 among all groups.
- Nearly half of American Indians in 1990, and nearly one quarter of non-Hispanic whites in 1996, lived outside of metropolitan areas. These nonmetropolitan proportions of the population are shrinking for all groups, however.

*Note: In 1970, data for whites include Hispanic whites. In 1970, data for Asians are for Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos. Data for 1996 are not available for American Indians.*

## 5. Intergroup Married Couples, 1990

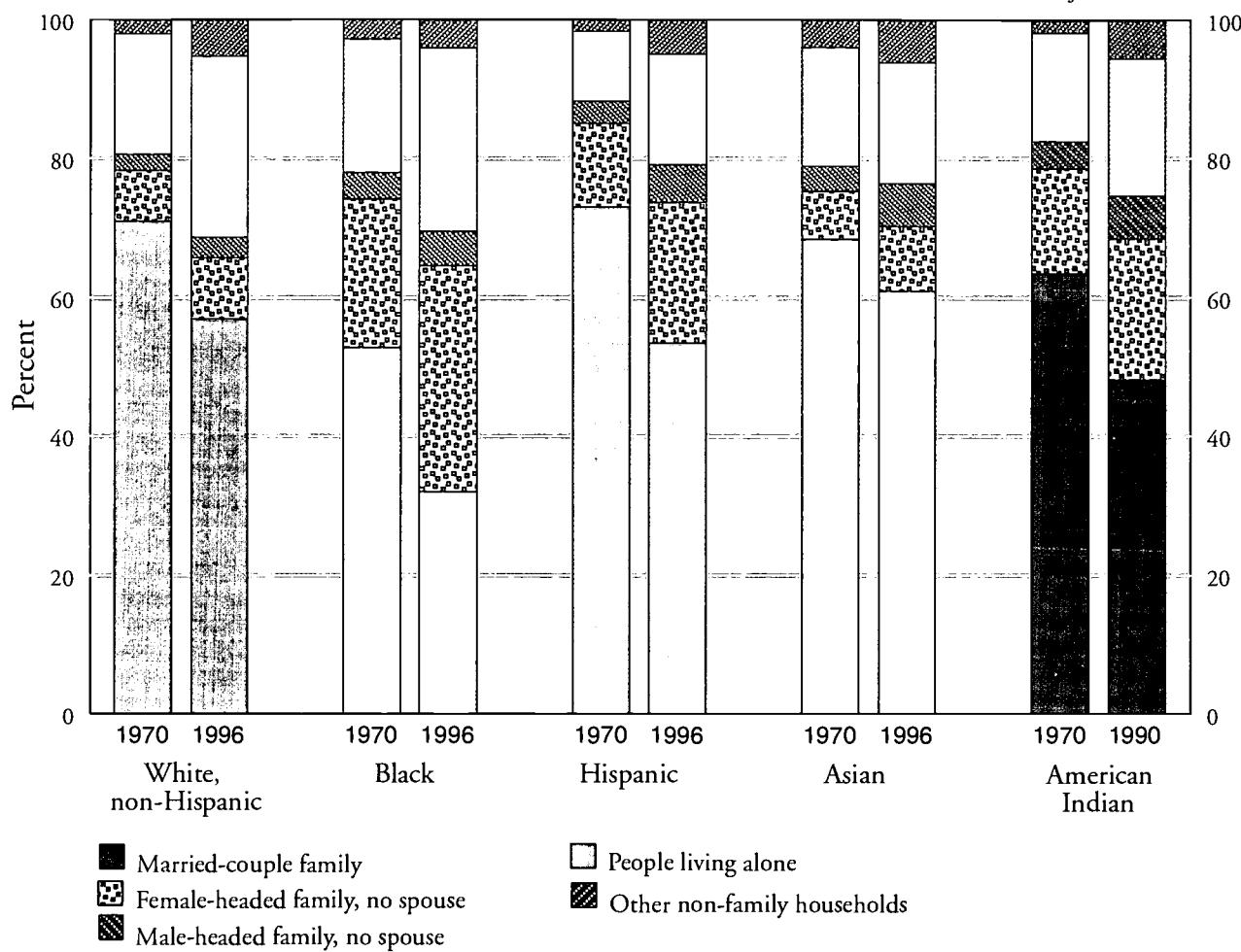
Source: Bureau of the Census



- Intergroup marriage (marriage between persons of different races or Hispanic origin) is an indicator of social integration. This chart shows on the left the percentage of married men who are members of intergroup couples and on the right the percentage of married women who are members of intergroup couples.
- Between 1960 and 1990, interracial married couples (not including marriages between Hispanics and non-Hispanics) more than tripled as a percentage of all married couples (not shown in chart). However, intergroup married couples still accounted for only 4 percent of all married couples in 1990.
- Non-Hispanic blacks and non-Hispanic whites are proportionately least likely to marry outside their groups. When non-Hispanic whites marry members of minority groups, they are least likely to marry non-Hispanic blacks (not shown in chart).

## 6. Household Structure

Source: Bureau of the Census

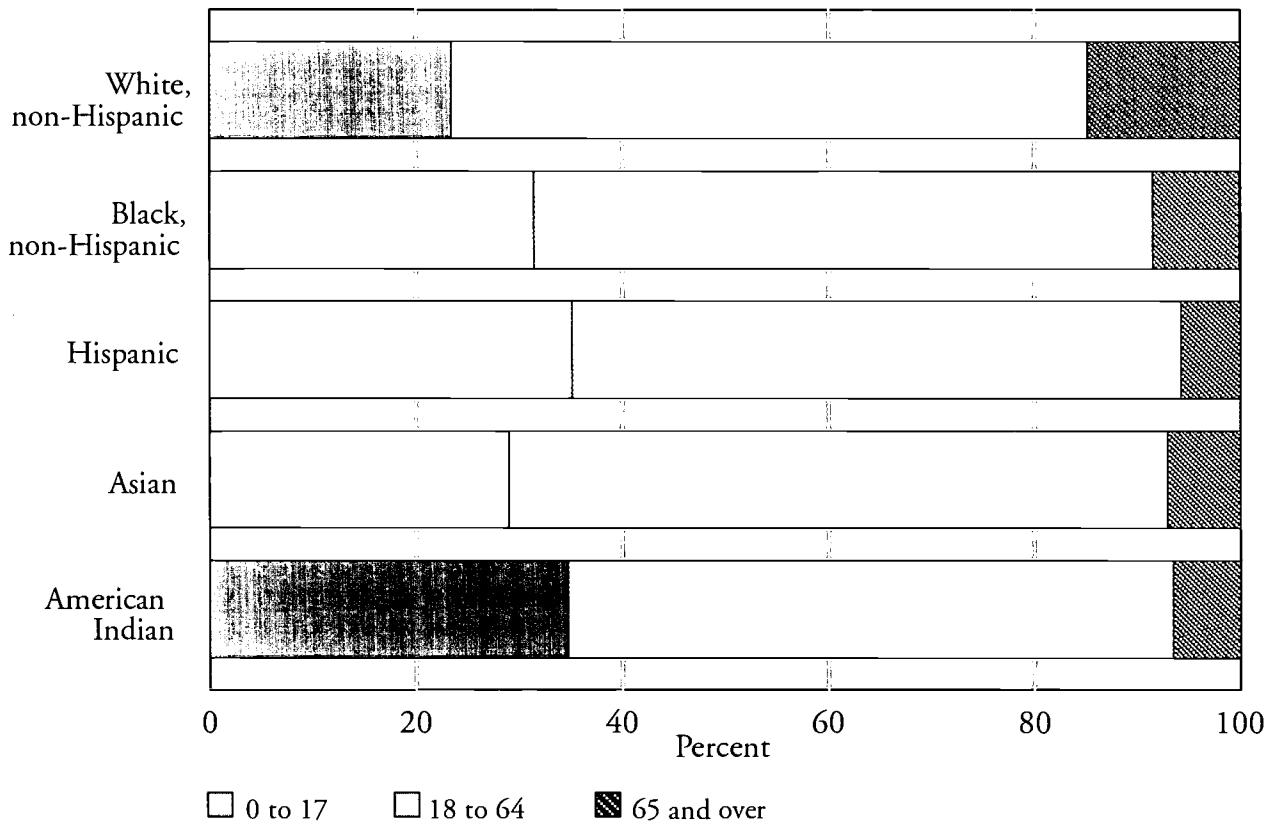


- Because resources can be pooled in households, household structure influences an individual's economic well-being. Changes in household structure may influence and be influenced by economic status. For example, child poverty is higher in single-parent families, and as the wealth of older persons has increased, they have become more likely to head their own households.
- Since 1970, the fraction of households maintained by a married couple has declined substantially; this decline has been greatest for blacks.
- The fraction of households maintained by a single parent has increased for all groups. The increase has occurred for both families maintained by single females and single males, although male-headed families with no spouse present make up less than one quarter of single-parent families.
- Since 1970, the fraction of households composed of only one person has increased for all groups. Other non-family households (unrelated individuals living together) have also increased as a fraction of all households for all groups over this period.

Note: In 1970, data for whites include Hispanic whites. In 1970, data for Asians are for Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos. Data for 1996 are not available for American Indians.

## 7. Age Distribution, 1997

Source: Bureau of the Census



- Differences in age distributions between population groups reflect differences in death rates, fertility rates, rates of net immigration, and the age of immigrants. These age differences can contribute to differences in economic, health, or social status across racial and ethnic groups.
- The non-Hispanic white population is older, on average, than other groups. Less than 25 percent of non-Hispanic whites are below the age of 17, compared with nearly 30 percent of Asians and more than 30 percent of Hispanics, non-Hispanic blacks, and American Indians. In part, the young average age of Asians and Hispanics reflects the many children born to new immigrants in these groups, since new immigrants are likely to be of childbearing age.
- The school-aged population (persons aged 5 to 17, not shown separately in chart) is more racially and ethnically diverse than the population as a whole; the racial/ethnic composition of this population resembles the projected composition of the population as a whole for 2010.

### III. Education

**E**ducational attainment is one of the most important indicators of lifetime economic opportunities. Higher educational attainment is associated with lower unemployment and higher wages, higher family income, and better health for adults and their children. A substantial portion of gaps in well-being among racial and ethnic groups can be accounted for by differences in educational opportunities and attainment. Studies find that improvement in the economic status of blacks in the 1960s and early 1970s resulted in part from improvements in educational attainment and school quality, especially in the South.<sup>1</sup>

Blacks, Hispanics, and American Indians continue to experience educational disadvantages. Black and Hispanic children are more likely than non-Hispanic white children to be poor (Economic Status 3) and to have parents with lower education levels. As a result, they often begin life with disadvantages related to family financial and educational resources. Research is mounting about the importance of a stimulating environment for early childhood development, starting in infancy. This education begins at home. It is not until age three that children typically enter preschools or Head Start programs designed to promote school readiness. The most important teachers for children under the age of five are family members. For example, reading to young children helps them learn to speak and, later, to read and write.<sup>2</sup>

Young non-Hispanic black and Hispanic children are less likely than their non-Hispanic white counterparts to be read to by family members or to be told a story (Education 1). Because reading to children increases sharply with parent's educational attainment,<sup>3</sup> some differences in reading to children across racial and ethnic groups are likely to be related to parental education.

Some social policies attempt to improve educational opportunities by providing enriched early childhood educational opportunities through programs such as Head Start, the largest federal program for early childhood education of economically disadvantaged children. Partly as a result of such policies, non-Hispanic black children aged four are significantly more likely than non-Hispanic white children to be enrolled in a preschool program (Education 2). Research has found that Head Start and other preschool programs promote children's cognitive development and achievement. Some research has found that the effects of Head Start are largest for Hispanics, perhaps because it provides an advantage in English language acquisition for children from homes where English is not the primary language spoken. The research literature is unsettled on the question of whether the beneficial effects of preschool interventions persist or fade as children age. One recent study reported that gains found for black children in the Head Start program fade if the children enter poor quality elementary schools but persist if their elementary schools are of good quality.<sup>4</sup>

Computing skills are valued in the labor market, and demand for workers with computer skills has increased markedly over the past 25 years.<sup>5</sup> Computer use by children, whether at home or at school, grew between 1984 and 1993 (Education 3). However, the increase in use at home was greatest for non-Hispanic whites, and in 1993 non-Hispanic blacks and Hispanics were considerably less likely to use a computer at home or at school than non-Hispanic whites. Lower levels of computer usage among non-Hispanic black and Hispanic children are probably related to lower income levels among these groups; in general, children from families with higher incomes were more likely to have used a computer at home or at school than children from families with lower incomes.

Higher scores on math and reading proficiency tests are associated with higher future educational attainment; they are also associated with future success in the labor market, even among individuals with similar levels of education.<sup>6</sup> Non-Hispanic black and Hispanic children score lower on achievement tests, on average, than non-Hispanic white children at similar ages (Education 4 and 5). Like many other indicators of educational progress, however, between-group differences in achievement test scores may be influenced by differences in a variety of social and economic factors, including school quality, parental education, and family income.

Higher educational attainment is associated with improved socioeconomic status, higher wage rates, and better health. In addition, parents' education is associated with better health, development, and educational attainment for their children. Educational attainment has been steadily increasing (Education 6). The fraction of the population aged 25 and older who completed high school (or equivalent) exceeded 50 percent for all groups in 1997 and is 75 percent or higher for blacks, non-Hispanic whites, and Asians. The increase in attainment has been faster among blacks, non-Hispanic whites, and Asians than among Hispanics. Attainment has increased markedly among blacks since the 1940s, and between 1980 and 1997 the fraction of blacks who did not complete high school dropped from nearly half to one quarter. Nonetheless, in 1997 blacks were considerably less likely than non-Hispanic whites to have completed a college, professional, or doctoral degree. Asians have by far the highest level of educational attainment of any of these groups. Generally, Asians' educational attainment increased since 1980 as more attended and completed college.

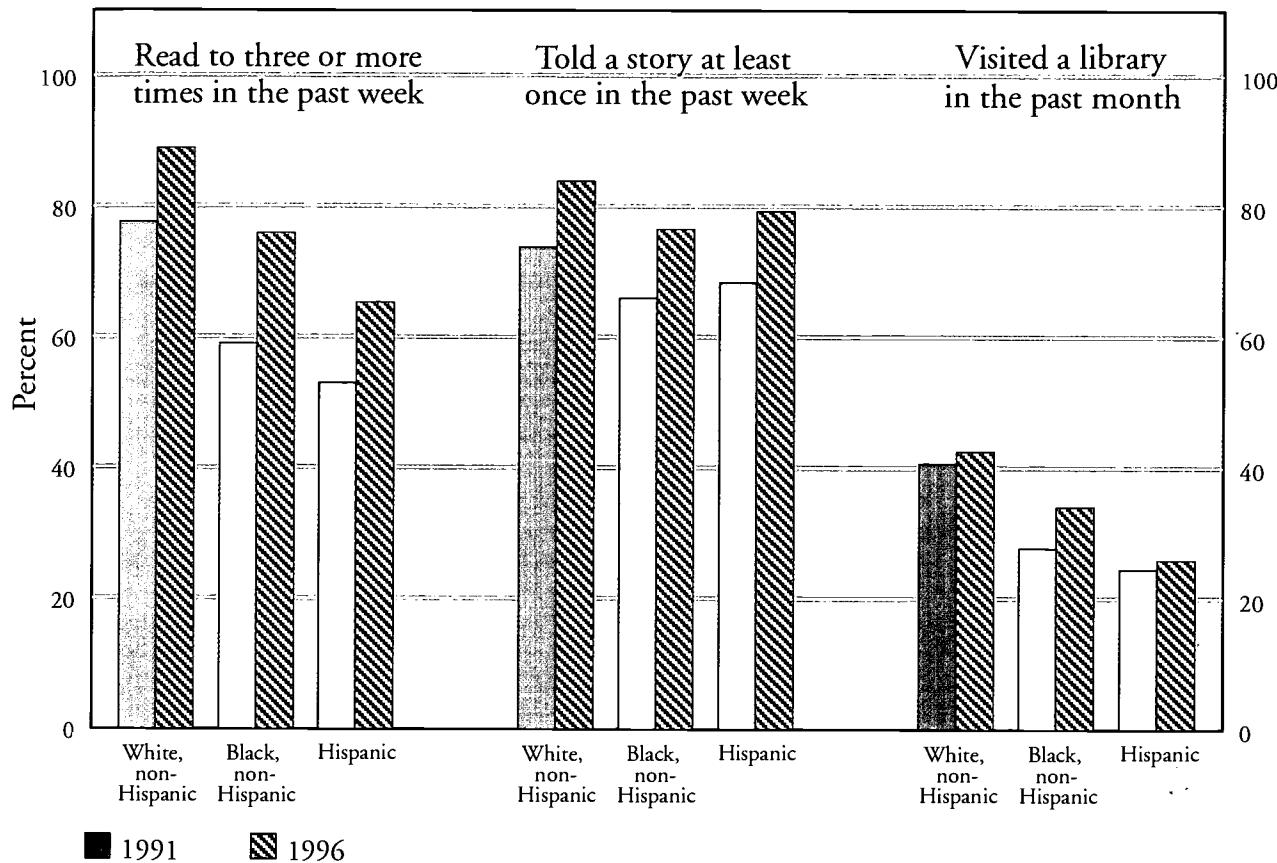
In 1997, about 45 percent of Hispanic adults 25 and older had not completed high school. High school attainment of Hispanic adults has improved only slowly over the past 15 years (Education 6), and progress has also been slow among Hispanics aged 25 to 29 (Education 7). Among those who have completed high school, however, the fraction completing at least some college rose from 31 percent in 1971 to 54 percent in 1997. Educational attainment has increased faster for native-born Hispanics than for the Hispanic population as a whole. In 1990 the high school completion rate of native-born Hispanics was comparable to that of non-Hispanic blacks, whereas that of Hispanic immigrants was considerably lower.<sup>7</sup> Thus, the slow increase in average educational attainment of Hispanics is at least partly due to the increasing representation of immigrants with lower educational attainment in the Hispanic population.

Since education is usually completed at younger ages, data on attainment among younger adults provide a better sense of current educational opportunities and conditions. The percentage of 25- to 29-year olds with a high school diploma is nearly as high among non-Hispanic blacks as among non-Hispanic whites (Education 7). However, Hispanics aged 25 to 29 continue to have lower rates of high school completion. And, although young blacks are attending college at increasing rates, the gap in college completion between young non-Hispanic blacks and non-Hispanic whites did not narrow appreciably over the 1980s (Education 8).

1. Donohue, John J. III and James Heckman. 1991. "Continuous Versus Episodic Change: The Impact of Civil Rights Policy on the Economic Status of Blacks." *Journal of Economic Literature* 29 (December):1603-43.
2. Wells, Gordon. 1985. "Preschool Literacy-Related Activities and Success in School." In *Literacy, Language, and Learning: The Nature and Consequences of Literacy*, ed. David R. Olson, Nancy Torrance, and Angela Hildyard. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
3. Federal Interagency Forum on Child and Family Statistics. 1997. *America's Children: Key National Indicators of Well-Being*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
4. Currie, Janet and Duncan Thomas. 1996. "Does Head Start Help Hispanic Children?" RAND Labor and Population Working Paper No. 96-17; Currie and Thomas. 1995. "Does Head Start Make a Difference?" *American Economic Review* 85 (3):341-64; Currie and Thomas. 1998. "School Quality and the Longer-Term Effects of Head Start." National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper No. 6362.
5. Autor, David H., Lawrence F. Katz, and Alan B. Krueger. 1997. "Computing Inequality: Have Computers Changed the Labor Market?" National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper No. 5956.
6. Neal, Derek A., and William R. Johnson. 1996. "The Role of Premarket Factors in Black-White Wage Differences." *Journal of Political Economy* 104 (5):869-95.
7. Mare, Robert D. 1995. "Changes in Educational Attainment and Social Enrollment." In *State of the Union: America in the 1990s*, ed. Reynolds Farley. Vol. 1: Economic Trends. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

# 1. Participation in Literacy Activities with a Parent or Family Member by Children Aged Three to Five

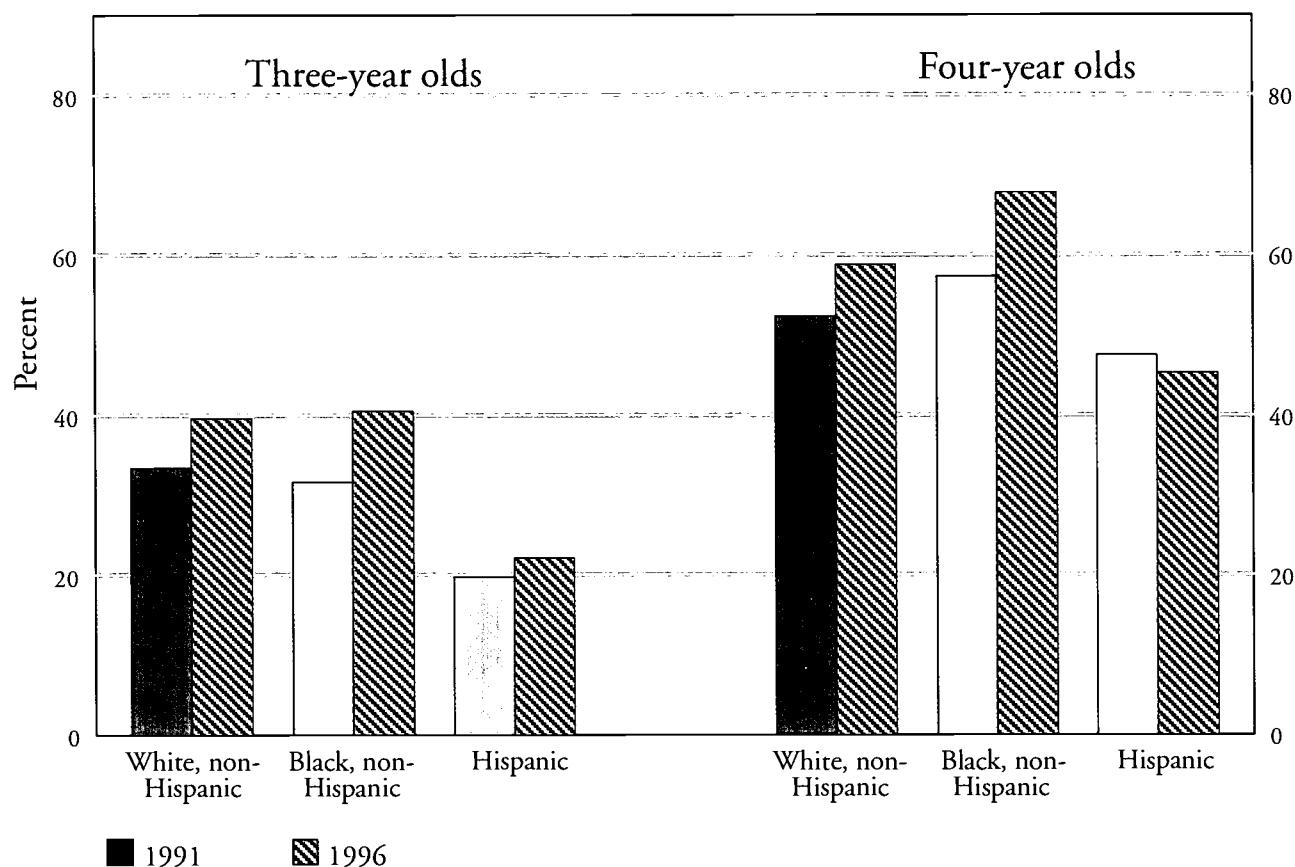
Source: National Center for Education Statistics



- Young children's interactions with others are critical to their development. Reading to children or telling them stories helps them learn to read and improves their verbal communication skills. This chart shows children's reported participation in various literacy activities with a parent or family member.
- In 1996, non-Hispanic white children were more likely to have been read to than their non-Hispanic black or Hispanic counterparts, and they were also more likely to have been told a story and to have visited a library in the past month. Some of these differences likely reflect the higher levels of educational attainment of parents in the non-Hispanic white population.
- Parents in all groups shown above were more likely to report that they participated in these literacy activities with their children in 1996 than in 1991.

## 2. Children Aged Three to Four Enrolled in Center-Based Programs or Kindergarten

Source: National Center for Education Statistics

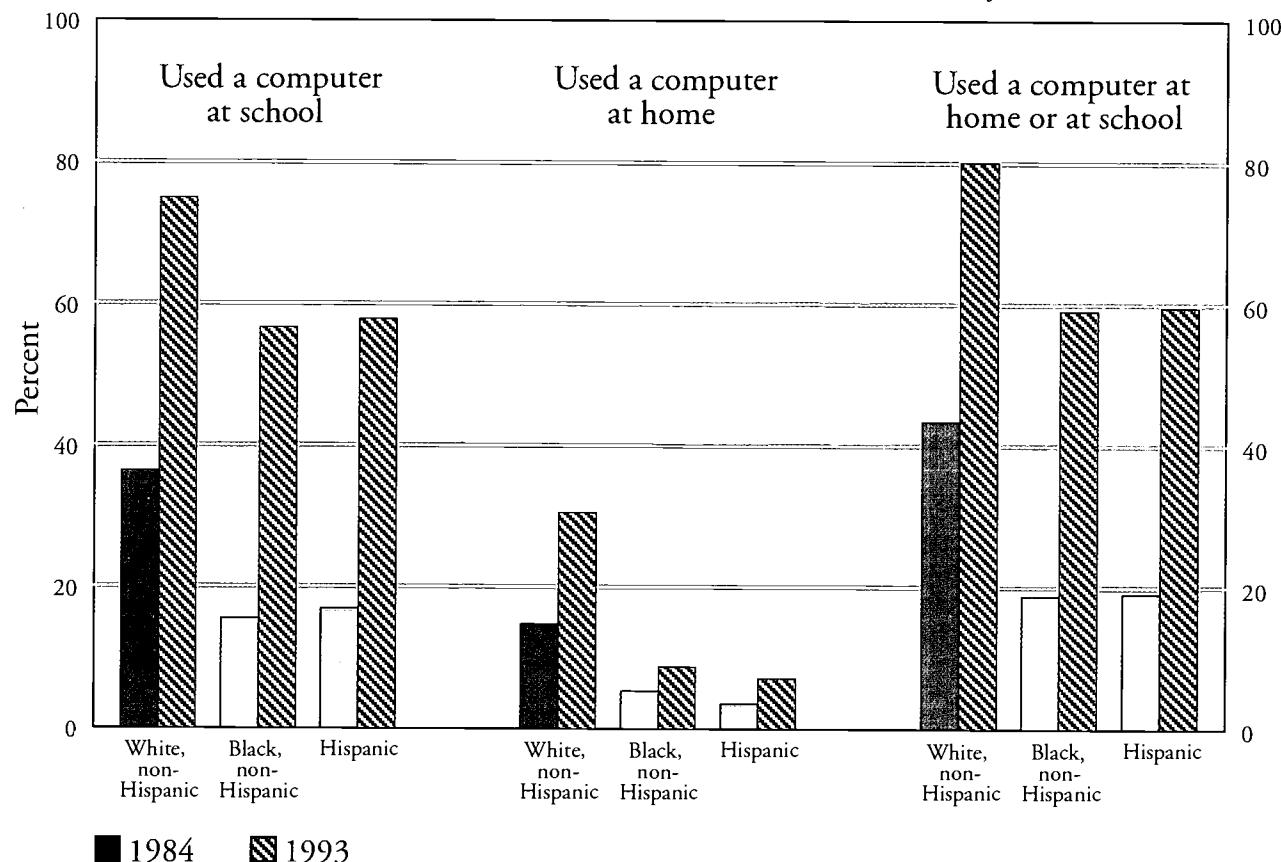


- Enrollment in prekindergarten programs and kindergarten is generally correlated with greater progress in the early years of elementary school.
- In 1996, non-Hispanic black children aged three and four were more likely than non-Hispanic white children to be enrolled in center-based learning programs or kindergarten. Hispanic children were less likely than non-Hispanic blacks or non-Hispanic whites to be enrolled.
- Enrollment in these programs increased for nearly all groups between 1991 and 1996.

*Note: Center-based programs are nursery schools, prekindergarten, and Head Start.*

### 3. Computer Use by Children in First through Sixth Grade

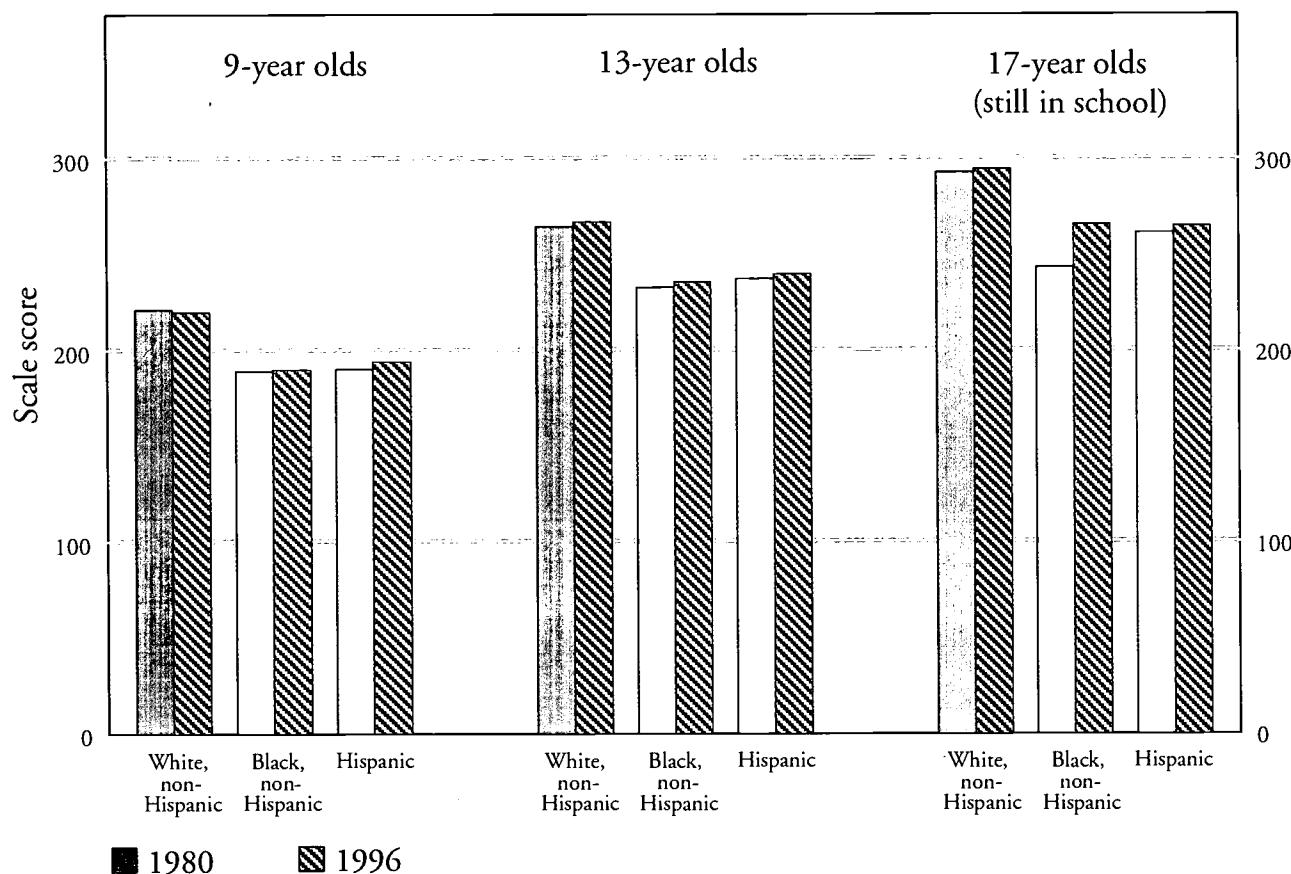
Sources: Bureau of the Census and National Center for Education Statistics



- Familiarity with computers is increasingly important at school and at work.
- Computer use increased markedly from 1984 to 1993 for all groups. In both years, non-Hispanic whites were more likely than non-Hispanic blacks or Hispanics to have used a computer both at home and at school.
- Relatively few non-Hispanic black and Hispanic children used a computer at home in 1993. However, over 55 percent of non-Hispanic blacks and Hispanics and about 75 percent of non-Hispanic whites used a computer at school.
- Lower levels of computer usage at home among non-Hispanic black and Hispanic children are probably related to lower income levels among these groups. In general, children from higher income families are more likely to have used a computer at home or at school than children from families with lower incomes.

## 4. Average Reading Proficiency Scores

Source: National Center for Education Statistics

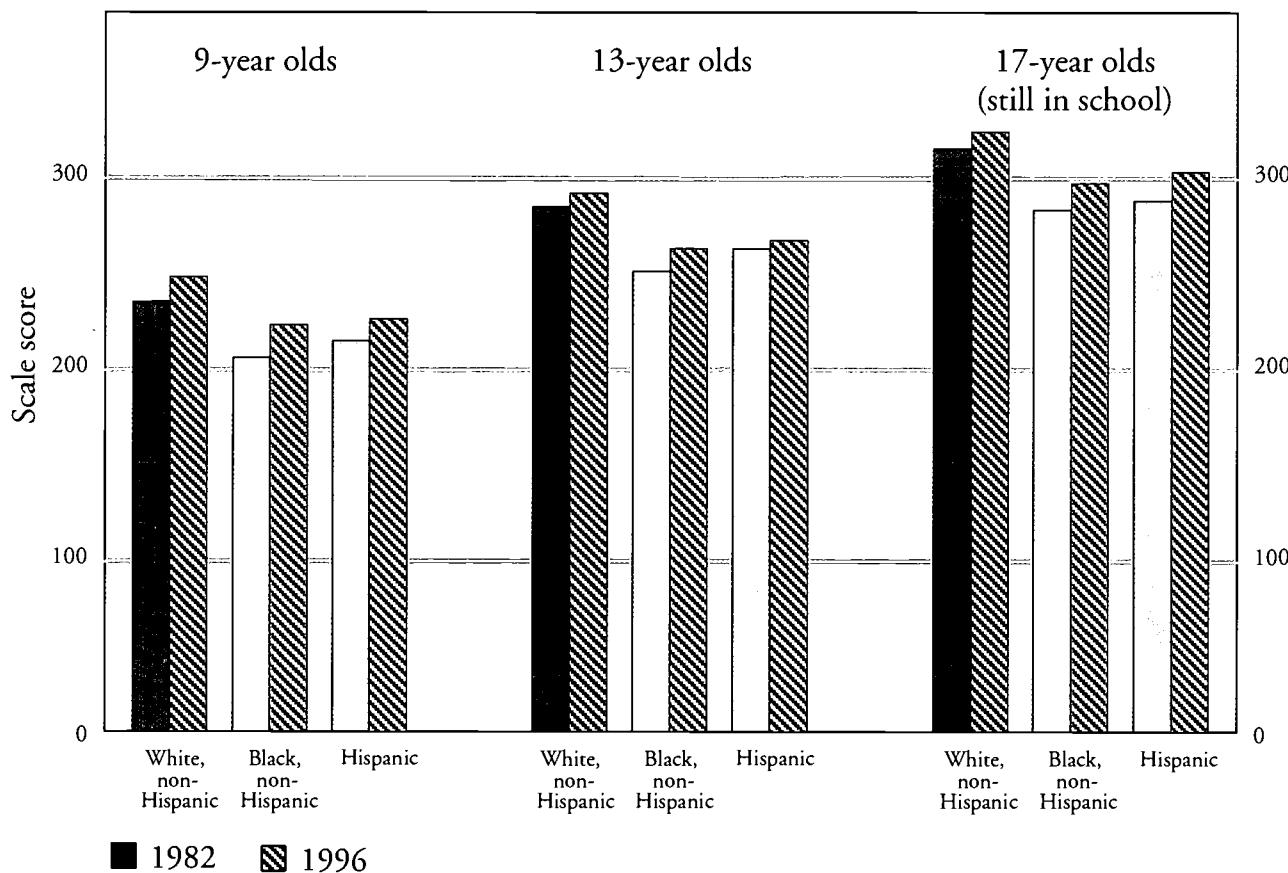


- This chart presents data on reading proficiency scores from the National Assessment of Educational Progress. This survey is designed to monitor the knowledge, skills, and performance of the nation's children and youth.
- On average, non-Hispanic white children score higher than non-Hispanic black or Hispanic children in reading proficiency at each age.
- Non-Hispanic black 17-year olds made substantial progress in reading proficiency between 1980 and 1996. Reading proficiency changed little among other groups and ages from 1980 to 1996.

*Note: A reading score of 300 means the student can understand complicated information. A score of 250 means the student can interrelate ideas and make generalizations. A score of 200 means the student has partially developed skills and understanding.*

## 5. Average Mathematics Proficiency Scores

Source: National Center for Education Statistics

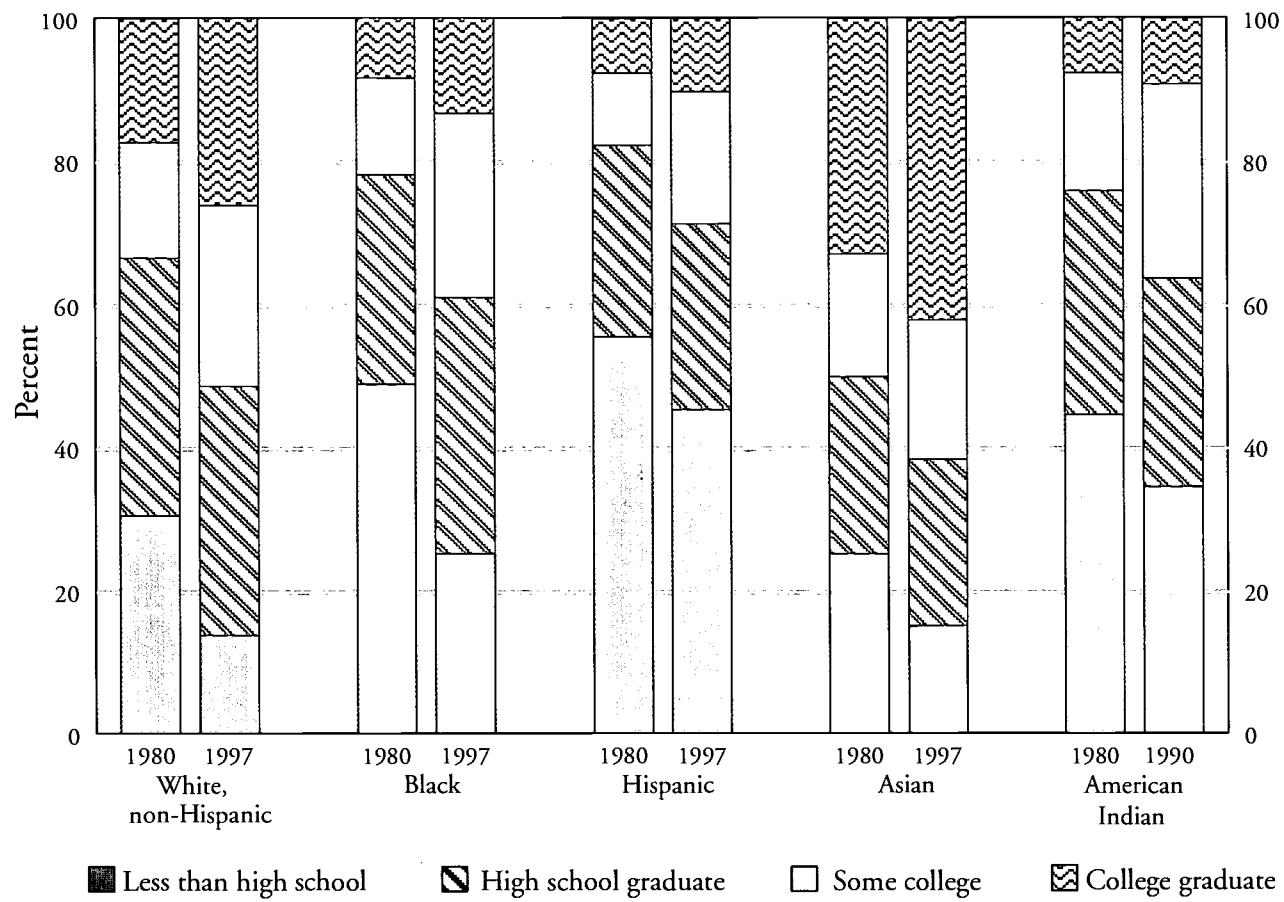


- This chart shows mathematics proficiency scores from the National Assessment of Educational Progress.
- On average, non-Hispanic whites tend to score higher on tests of mathematics proficiency than non-Hispanic blacks or Hispanics at each age.
- Mathematics proficiency scores generally increased between 1982 and 1996 at all ages among all groups shown above.

*Note: A mathematics score of 300 means a student can do moderately complex procedures and reasoning. A score of 250 indicates a student can do basic operations and beginning problem solving. A score of 200 demonstrates a student's beginning skills and understanding of math.*

## 6. Educational Attainment of Adults Aged 25 and Over

Source: Bureau of the Census

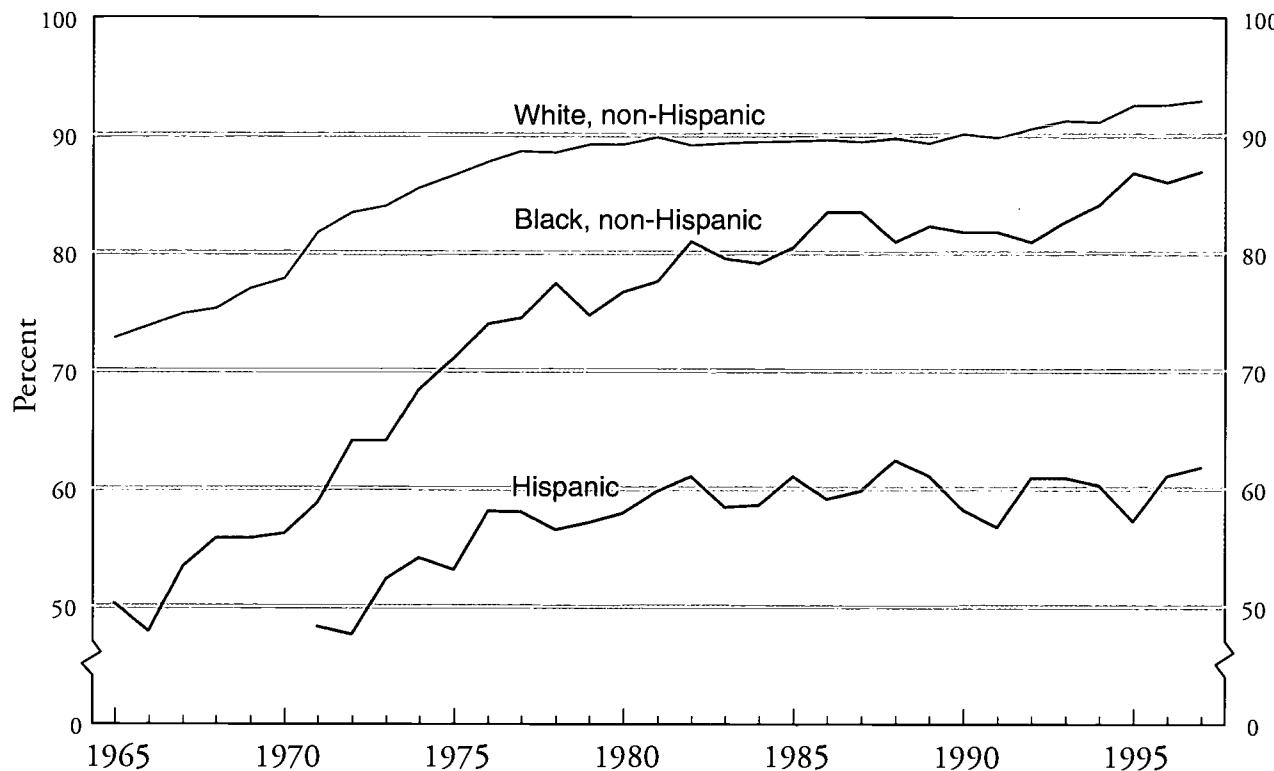


- Educational attainment is predictive of economic status and health.
- Asians and non-Hispanic whites are more likely to have completed education beyond high school than are blacks, Hispanics, and American Indians. In 1997, nearly half of Hispanics aged 25 and older had not completed high school.
- Educational attainment has increased for all groups since 1980. Increases for blacks have been most marked. Increases for Hispanics have been relatively small.
- In 1997, 9 percent of non-Hispanic whites and 15 percent of Asians held master's, professional, or doctoral degrees, compared with 4 percent of blacks and 3 percent of Hispanics and American Indians (not shown in chart).

*Note: Data for 1980 are based on years of school completed, rather than on the highest diploma or degree received. In 1997, high school graduates include those with a GED or equivalent. Data for 1997 are not available for American Indians.*

## 7. Persons Aged 25 to 29 with a High School Degree or Equivalent

Sources: Bureau of the Census and National Center for Education Statistics

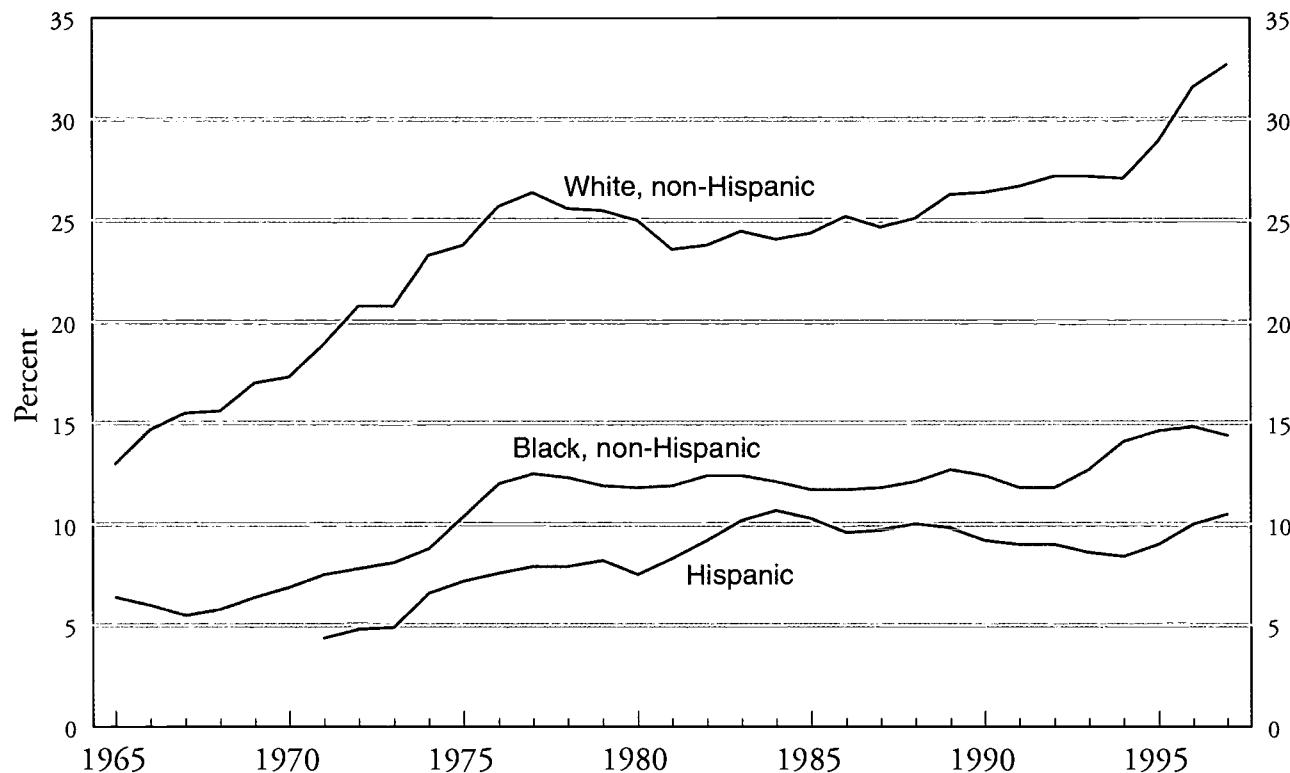


- High school completion rates for 25- to 29-year olds provide a sense of change in educational attainment over time, since education is usually completed at younger ages.
- High school completion rates have increased for 25- to 29-year olds in all groups over the past 30 years. However, rates for Hispanics have grown little since the early 1980s.
- The percentage of non-Hispanic blacks aged 25 to 29 who have completed high school (87 percent) is nearly as high as that of non-Hispanic whites (93 percent). Hispanic 25- to 29-year olds continue to have considerably lower rates of high school completion (62 percent), however. The lower rates among Hispanics primarily reflect the lower average levels of education among Hispanic immigrants; completion rates of native-born Hispanics (not shown separately in chart) are comparable to those of non-Hispanic blacks.

Note: Prior to 1971, data for whites include Hispanic whites, and data for blacks include Hispanic blacks. Prior to 1992, data are for persons having completed four or more years of high school; data for 1992 and beyond include persons with a GED or equivalent.

## 8. Persons Aged 25 to 29 with a Four-Year College Degree or Higher

Sources: Bureau of the Census and National Center for Education Statistics



- Completion of a four-year college degree has become increasingly associated with economic status and success in the labor market.
- The percentage of 25- to 29-year olds who have completed college increased sharply in the 1960s and early 1970s for non-Hispanic whites and non-Hispanic blacks. Between the mid-1970s and the early 1990s, college completion rose more slowly for all groups shown above. College completion appears to have picked up again in the mid-1990s.
- Non-Hispanic whites are more than twice as likely as non-Hispanic blacks and Hispanics to have completed a four-year college degree. Nearly 33 percent of non-Hispanic whites had completed a four-year college degree in 1997, compared with only about 14 percent of non-Hispanic blacks and 11 percent of Hispanics.

*Note: Prior to 1971, data for whites include Hispanic whites, and data for blacks include Hispanic blacks. Data for non-Hispanic blacks and Hispanics are three-year centered averages. Prior to 1992, data are for persons having completed four or more years of college.*

## IV. Labor Markets

Earnings from the labor market are the primary source of income for the majority of families. Labor market earnings are determined by labor force participation, the unemployment rate among labor force participants, the number of hours worked per year, and hourly wage rates.

In general, labor force participation rates are higher for men than women, although over the past 30 years female participation rates have greatly increased, while those of men have declined (Labor Markets 1). Historically, black women had higher participation rates than white women, but since 1990, these rates have been roughly equal. Hispanic women's participation rates are lower than those of black or white women. Hispanic men's participation rates are higher than those of black men and approach those of white men.

Unemployment rates—the percentage of the labor force without jobs but actively seeking work—of blacks have been roughly twice those of whites for many years (Labor Markets 2). Black average annual unemployment rates have been over 10 percent for more than 20 years. (However, the black unemployment rate fell below 10 percent in mid-1997 and was below 9 percent in mid-1998.) Unemployment rates for Hispanics are generally between those of blacks and whites. Black and Hispanic unemployment rates also rise more in recessions and fall more in recoveries than do white rates.

Investment in labor market skills—either through schooling, training, or experience on the job—tends to be most intensive at young ages. One reason is that investing in these skills early in life allows workers to reap the "returns" to their investments over a greater number of years. When young people are neither in school nor employed, there is concern about their current activities as well as about their future employment and earnings prospects.

About 20 percent of young black men are neither in school nor working, compared with 14 percent of young Hispanic men and 9 percent of young white men (Labor Markets 3). The percentage of young men who are in this situation has not fallen substantially over the past 10 years. The percentage of young women neither enrolled in school nor employed has fallen over the 1990s, however, particularly among young black women. Much of this decline is the result of increased school enrollment. However, the interpretation of these numbers is less clear cut for young women than for young men, as many young women who are neither employed nor in school are taking care of children.

Wages of white men continue to exceed those of all other groups of workers (Labor Markets 4, 5, and 6). Studies indicate that black men's wages rose relative to white men's between the early 1960s and the mid-1970s, especially in the South.<sup>1</sup> But this trend reversed sometime in the mid- to late 1970s, and black men's relative pay declined for at least 10 years.<sup>2</sup> The evidence of the last 10 years is mixed, with one data series showing continued deterioration or little change in relative pay for black men, and another showing improvement.<sup>3</sup> Pay of Hispanic men has fallen relative to both white and black men's pay, at least in part as a result of falling relative educational attainment among Hispanics, combined with increased demand for more highly educated workers. Wage levels for all groups have risen in recent years.

After reaching near parity in the mid-1970s, black women's wages have fallen relative to those of white women. (White women have gained considerably relative to white men in this period.) Young, college-educated black women reached pay parity with their white counterparts in the early 1970s but have seen their relative wages fall about 10 percentage points since then (Labor Markets 5 and 7).

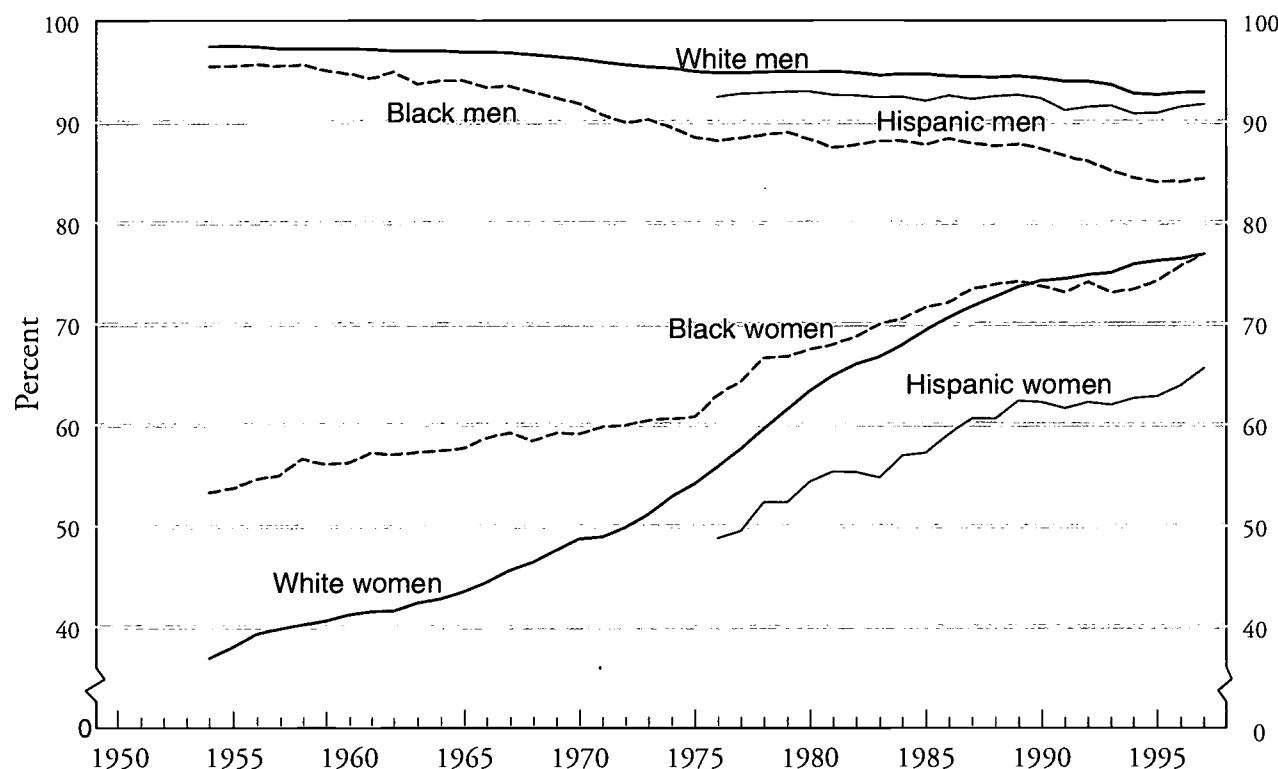
The median wages of Hispanic men and women are lower than those of their black and white counterparts. (For each group, half of workers have wages below and half have wages above the median.) Hispanics' relative wages have also fallen since 1979. The median wage of college-educated Hispanic women, however, is about 90 percent of that of white women and is slightly higher than that of black women. The median wage of college-educated Hispanic men is about 80 percent of that of college-educated white males and is about 10 percent higher than the wages of equivalent black males. For males, differences in educational attainment explain a much larger portion of the wage differences between Hispanics and whites than between blacks and whites.

Some of the differences in wages across racial and ethnic groups are linked to occupational differences (Labor Markets 8). Occupation is an alternative indicator of socioeconomic status that may capture aspects of status that are not reflected in employment or wages. Asian and white employees are far more likely than black, Hispanic, and American Indian employees to work in professional and managerial occupations and are less likely to work in "blue collar" occupations. Within blue collar occupations, black, Hispanic, and American Indian employees are more likely to be found in the lower-paying, "lower-skilled" occupations of operators, fabricators, and laborers rather than the higher-paying precision production and craft occupations. Black, Hispanic, and American Indian women are more likely than their non-Hispanic white counterparts to be employed in service occupations.

1. Donohue, John J. III and James Heckman. 1991. "Continuous Versus Episodic Change: The Impact of Civil Rights Policy on the Economic Status of Blacks." *Journal of Economic Literature* 29 (December):1603-43.
2. Bound, John and Richard Freeman. 1992. "What went wrong? The Erosion of Relative Earnings and Employment Among Young Black Men in the 1980s" *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 107 (1): 201-232
3. According to the series for median annual earnings of full-time, year-round workers, black men's earnings have risen relative to white men's earnings in the 1990s, and the black-white ratio of median wages for men reached a new high in 1996 at about 0.80. However, the black-white ratio of median usual weekly earnings of full-time workers fell between 1990 and 1996 and in 1997 returned to its 1990 level.

# 1. Labor Force Participation Rates of Persons Aged 25 to 54

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

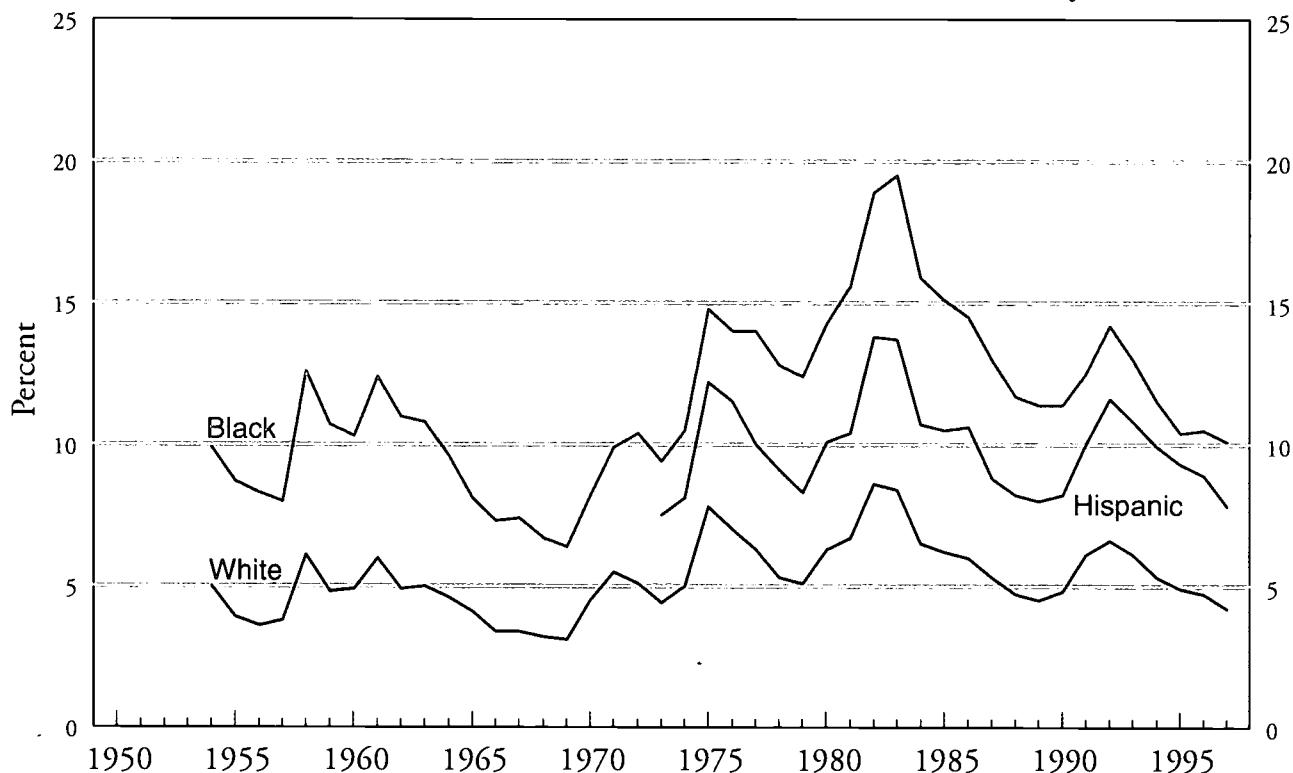


- The labor force participation rate is the percentage of the population that is either employed or actively seeking work. Participation in the labor force has long been the norm for men aged 25 to 54. Participation among women is often seen as an indicator of women's economic independence or, alternatively, as a response to family financial stress resulting from low male wages or unemployment.
- Over the second half of the 20th century, labor force participation rates have risen sharply for all groups of women and have fallen for men.
- Participation rates of black women historically exceeded those of white women, but participation rates for white women surpassed those of black women in the late 1980s. In the mid-1990s, the increase in the rate for white women has slowed, whereas the rate for black women has continued to increase. Participation rates of Hispanic women are lower than those of black and white women.
- Participation rates for white men exceed those of black and Hispanic men. Participation rates have fallen more rapidly among black men than among white and Hispanic men. The decline in male labor force participation has been concentrated among men with lower levels of educational attainment.

*Note: Prior to 1972, data for blacks include all non-whites.*

## 2. Unemployment Rates of Persons Aged 16 and Over

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

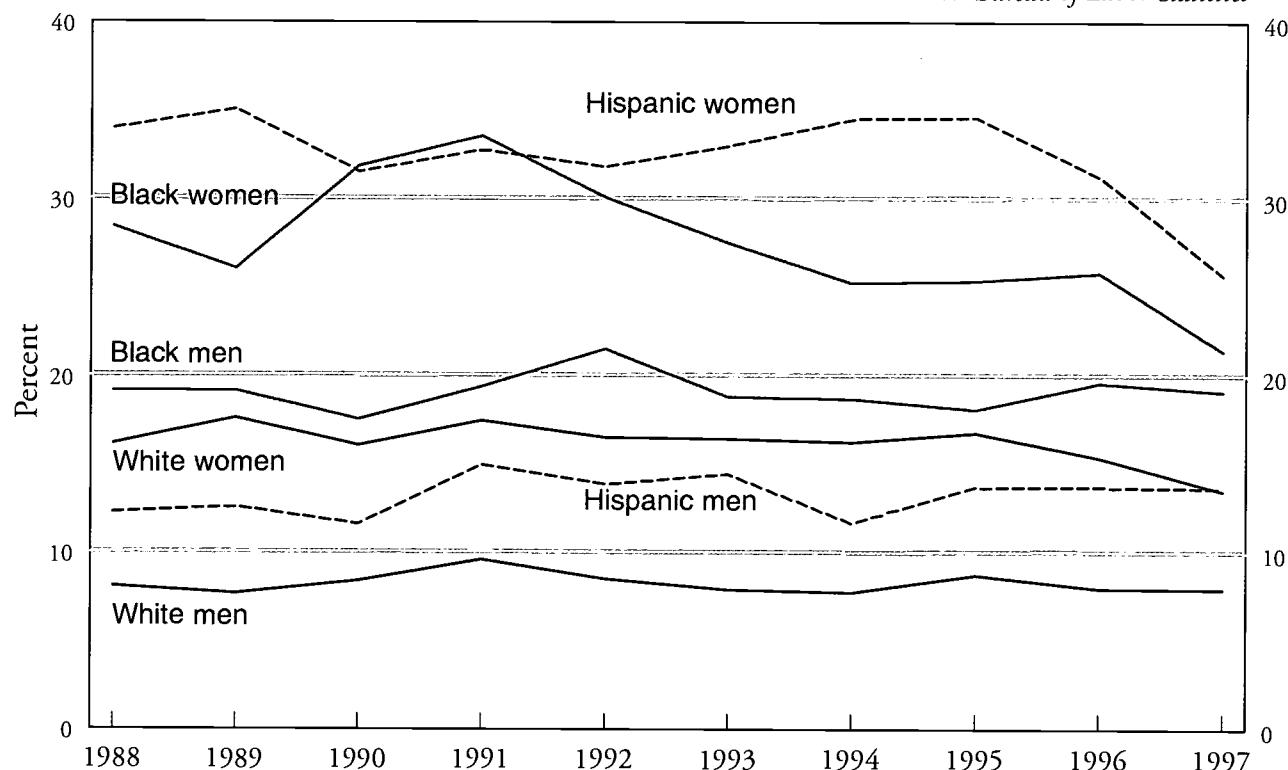


- The unemployment rate is a widely reported indicator of labor market distress. It is defined as the percentage of the labor force without a job but actively seeking work. (Persons who are not employed but not seeking a job are not included in the labor force and are therefore classified as neither employed nor unemployed.)
- Unemployment rates for Hispanics and blacks are higher than those for whites; they also tend to rise more in economic recessions and fall more in expansions.
- The unemployment rate for blacks has been twice that of whites for more than 20 years. It was above 10 percent from 1974 to 1997 (but below 9 percent by mid-1998). In part, this disparity reflects differences in educational attainment. However, substantial differentials persist even among blacks, whites, and Hispanics with similar levels of education, which may reflect discrimination.

*Note: Data are annual averages of monthly unemployment rates. Prior to 1972, data for blacks include all non-whites.*

### 3. Persons Aged 16 to 24 Who Are Not in School and Not Employed

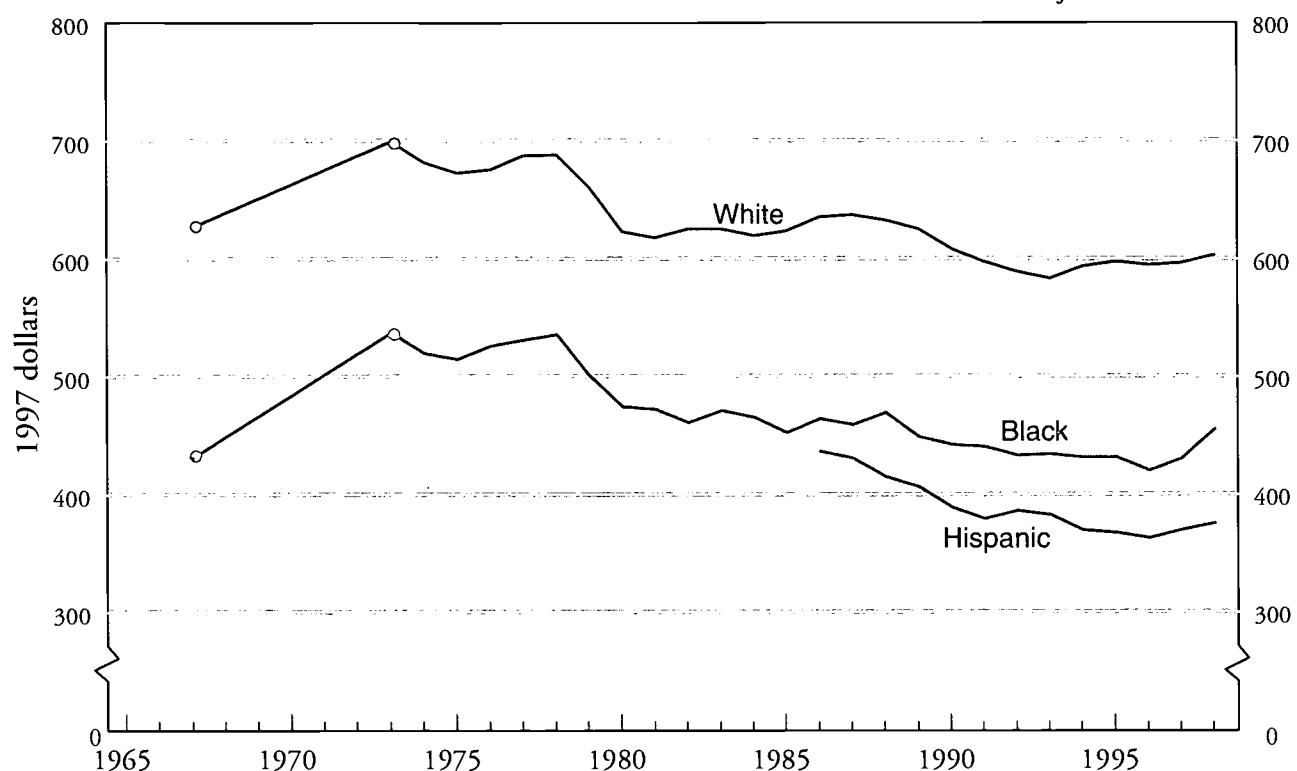
Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics



- When young adults are neither employed nor in school, there is concern about their current status and activities as well as about their future earnings prospects. Women in this situation may be raising children.
- The percentage of black and Hispanic young adults who are neither employed nor in school exceeds that of white young adults. For young men of all groups, the percentage that is neither enrolled in school nor employed has been relatively flat since 1988.
- The percentage of young women who are neither employed nor in school has fallen substantially in the 1990s, especially since 1995. For black and Hispanic women, much of the decrease over the 1990s can be accounted for by increases in school enrollment.

## 4. Median Usual Weekly Earnings of Male Full-Time Workers

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

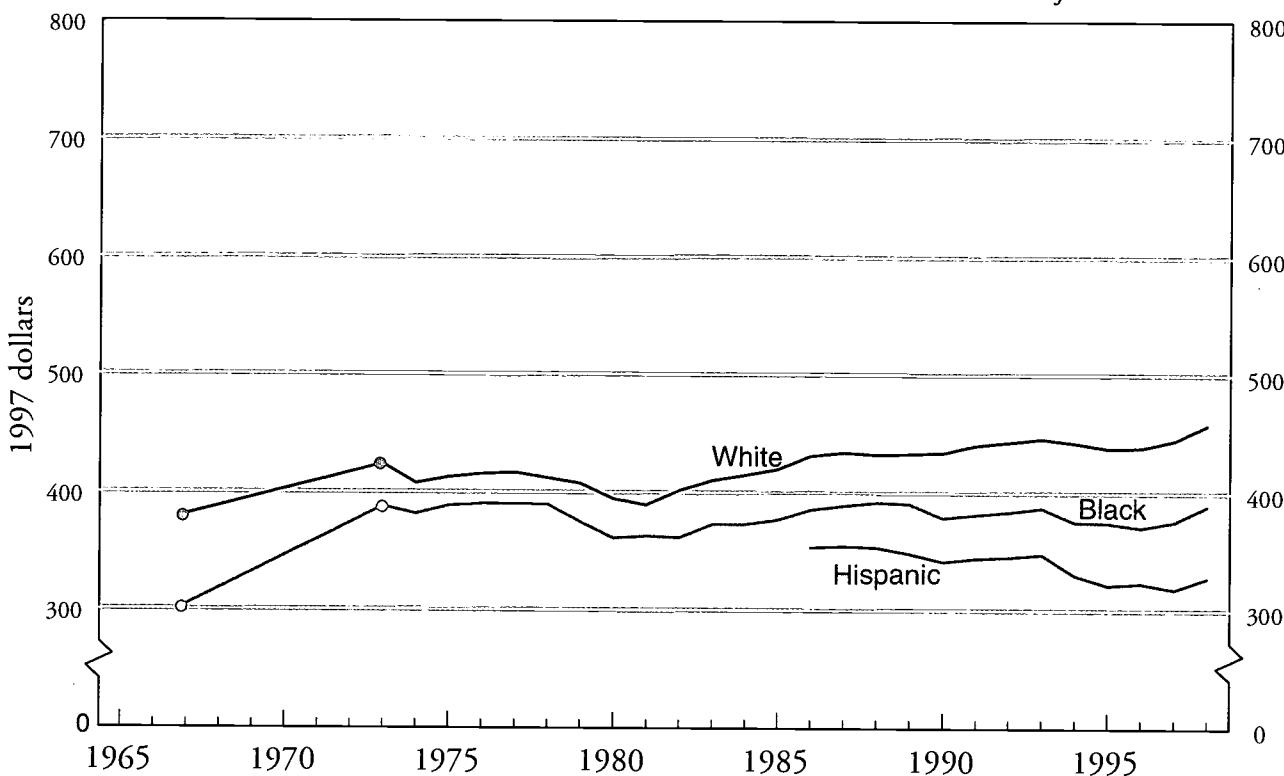


- Male labor market earnings are the largest source of household income.
- Median wages of black and Hispanic men are substantially lower than those of white men.
- Adjusted for inflation, median wages of men generally declined from 1970 to 1990, but have risen in more recent years. The gap in pay between whites and blacks has changed little over this period. The gap between whites and Hispanics has widened, however, in part due to the widening gap in educational attainment between these two groups.

*Note: Straight line between dots indicates data are not available for intervening years. Prior to 1979, data for blacks include all non-whites. Data for 1998 are from the first two quarters.*

## 5. Median Usual Weekly Earnings of Female Full-Time Workers

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

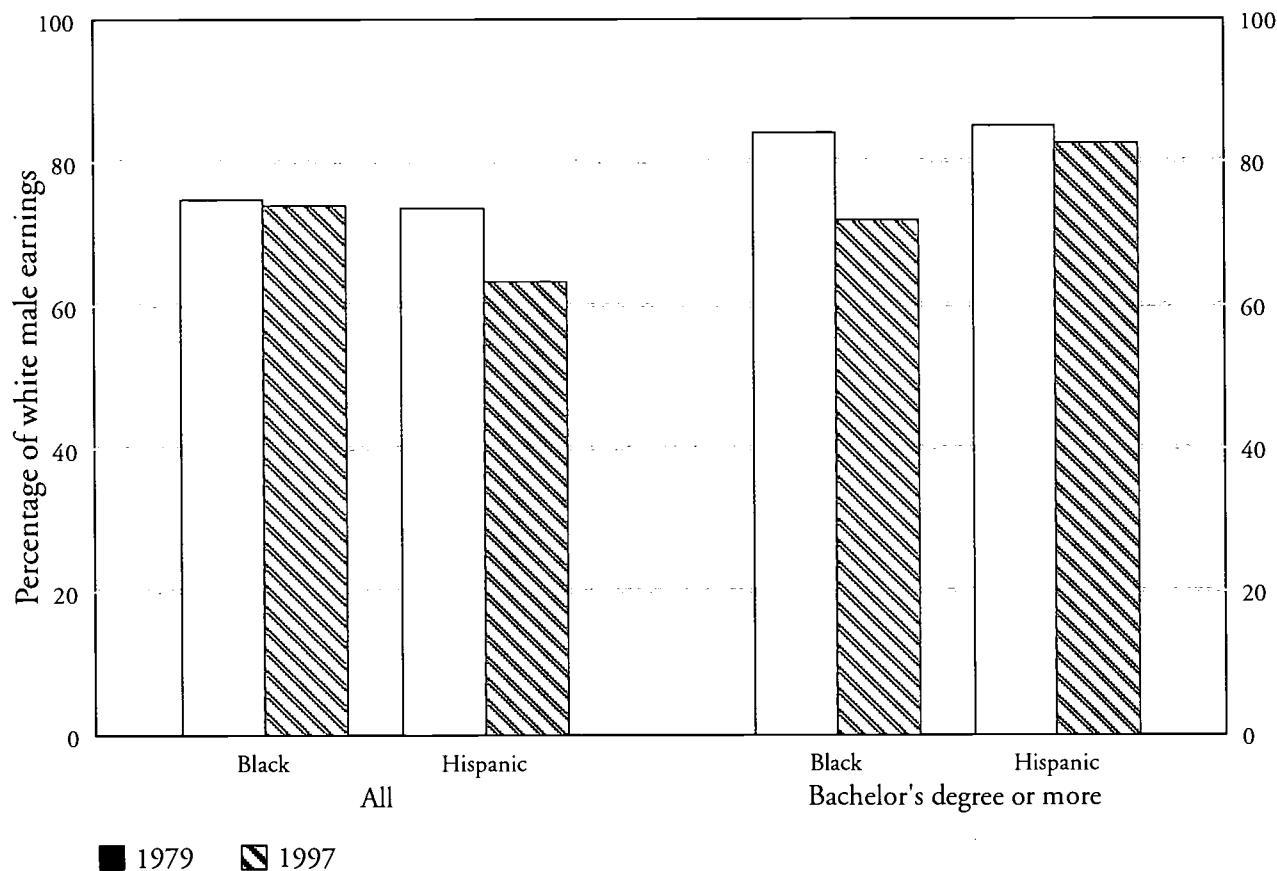


- Women's earnings constitute a rising share of household income. Earnings of women are particularly important for understanding differences between the economic status of black families and those of other racial and ethnic groups. Black married-couple families have typically relied more heavily on women's earnings than other families, and the fraction of single-parent, female-maintained families is highest among black families.
- After adjusting for inflation, weekly earnings of black and white women were higher in 1997 than in 1967. The black-white gap in pay narrowed in the 1960s and early 1970s but has widened since the early 1980s.
- Hispanic women's full-time earnings have fallen in real terms over the past decade.
- Although, on average, male earnings (chart 4) are higher than female earnings, white female median weekly earnings have risen relative to men's and surpassed Hispanic male earnings in 1989 and black male earnings in 1992.

*Note: Straight line between dots indicates data are not available for intervening years. Prior to 1979, data for blacks include all non-whites. Data for 1998 are from the first two quarters.*

## 6. Black and Hispanic Male Earnings as a Percentage of White Male Earnings

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

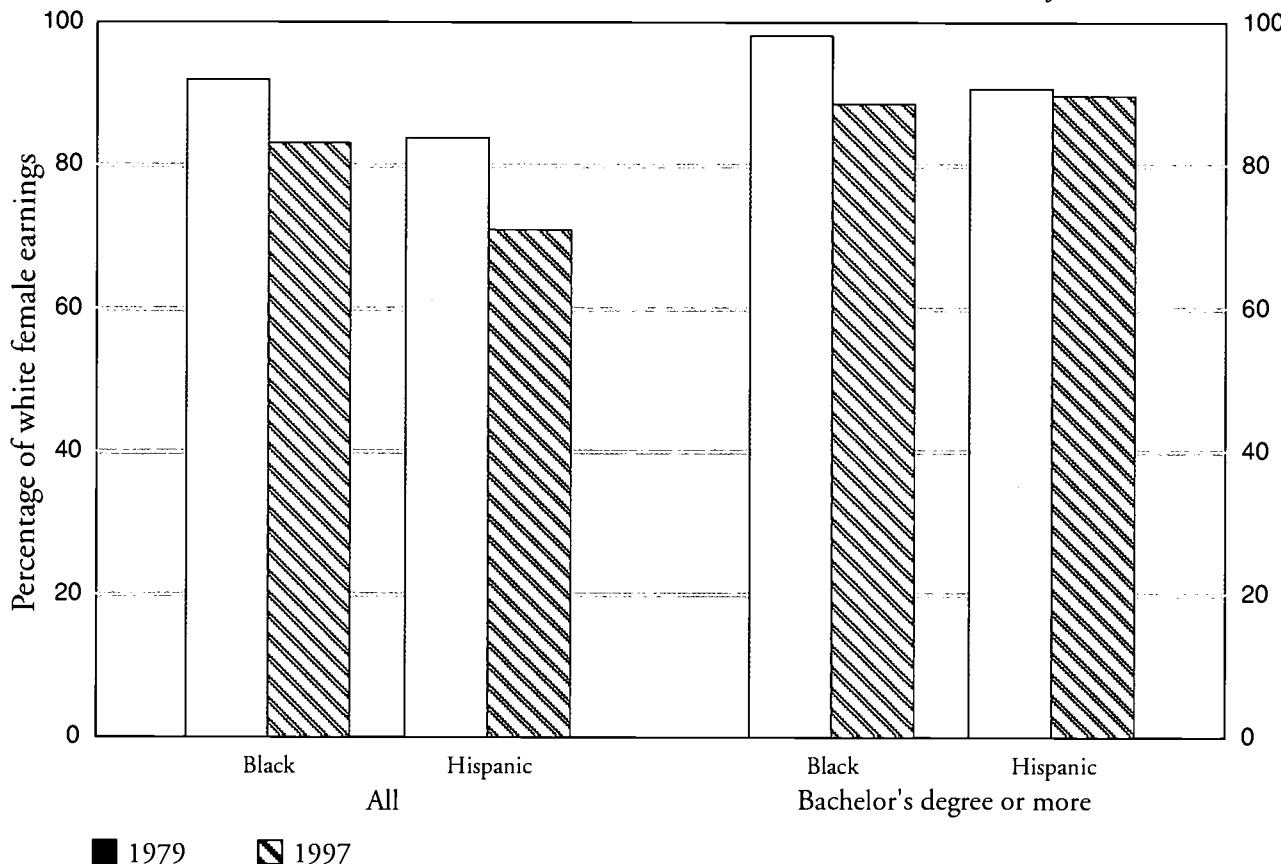


- Disparities in wages paid to workers with similar education may provide information about the extent of pay discrimination, although disparities in pay within education categories can also result from differences in other characteristics such as labor market experience or school quality.
- Differences in pay between whites on the one hand, and blacks and Hispanics on the other, are larger for men than for women (compare charts 6 and 7). The median black male worker earns 74 percent, and the median Hispanic male worker earns 63 percent, of the median for white men.
- The median wage of all black men has changed little relative to that of all white men since 1979. However, the relative pay of college-educated black men has fallen by more than 10 percentage points.
- Since 1979, median wages of Hispanic men have fallen relative to white men, reflecting the growing gap in educational attainment. However, college-educated Hispanic men have lost little ground relative to white men and now earn substantially more than college-educated black men.

*Note: Percentages are for median usual weekly earnings of full-time workers aged 25 and over on their main job. Educational attainment categories for 1979 are based on the number of years of school completed rather than the highest diploma or degree received.*

## 7. Black and Hispanic Female Earnings as a Percentage of White Female Earnings

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

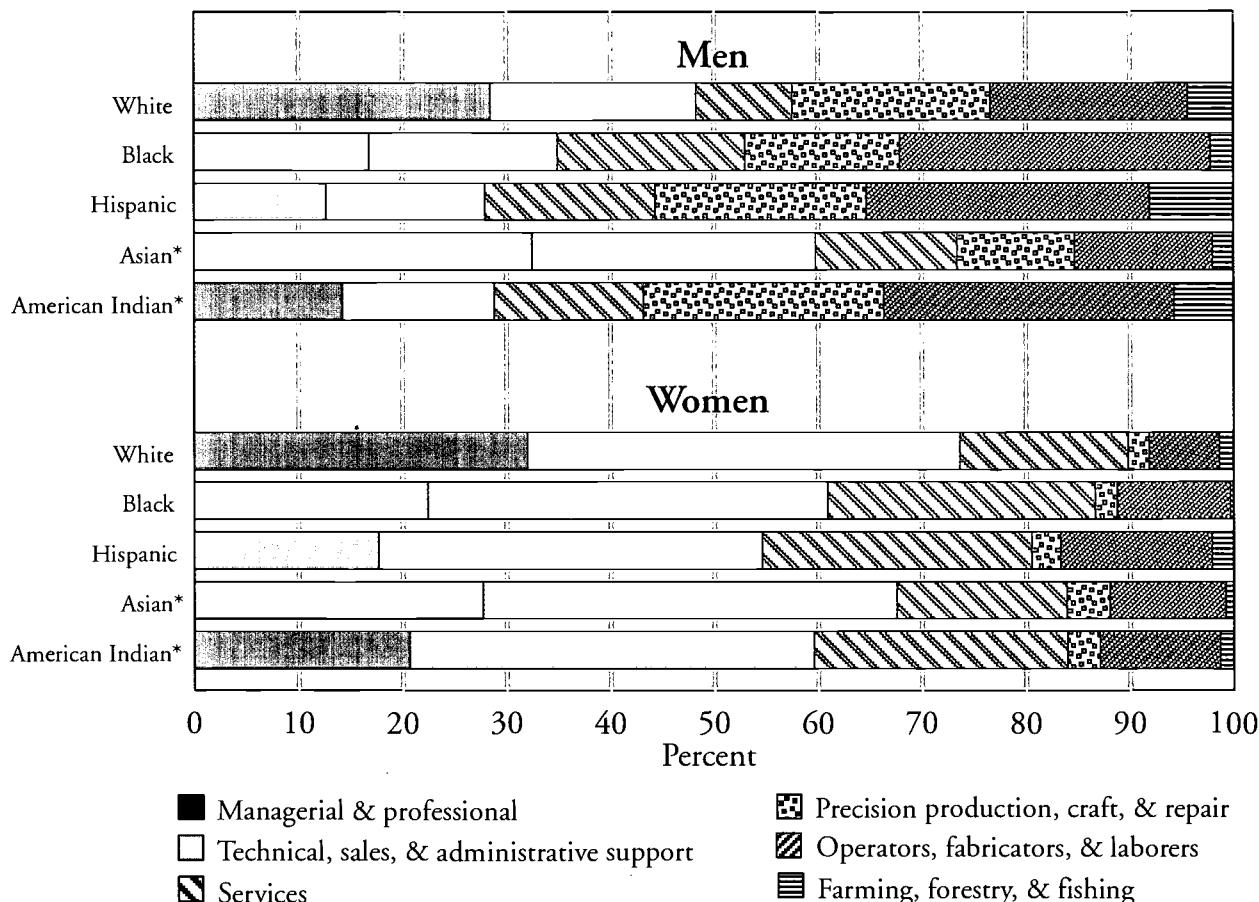


- Between 1979 and 1997, the pay of black women relative to that of white women fell by nearly 10 percentage points. In 1979 the median wage of black women with a college degree was 98 percent of that of college-educated white women, but by 1997 their earnings had fallen to only 89 percent of the earnings of college-educated white women.
- Hispanic women's wages have also fallen relative to white women's wages. However, the decline in Hispanic women's relative pay is much smaller for women with similar education levels. Differences in educational attainment have grown increasingly important for Hispanic-white differences in pay among women.

*Note: Percentages are for median usual weekly earnings of full-time workers aged 25 and over on their main job. Educational attainment categories for 1979 are based on the number of years of school completed rather than the highest diploma or degree received.*

## 8. Occupations of Employed Persons, 1997

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics and Bureau of the Census



- Occupation is an alternative indicator of socioeconomic status that may capture aspects of status that are not reflected in employment or wages.
- Relatively high percentages of white and Asian men are employed in managerial and professional occupations, whereas black, Hispanic, and American Indian men tend to be concentrated in the “lower-skilled,” lower-paid occupations of operators, fabricators, and laborers.
- Women of all groups are most likely to be employed in technical, sales, and administrative support occupations. A high percentage of white and Asian women are also employed in managerial and professional occupations, and a high percentage of black, Hispanic, and American Indian women are employed in service occupations.
- Between 1980 and 1997, the fraction of women employed in managerial and professional occupations grew considerably, especially among white women. The fraction of black men in these occupations also grew significantly; however, black men are still far less likely than white and Asian men to be employed in these occupations.

\*Data for Asians and American Indians are for 1990.

## V. Economic Status

No single indicator can adequately capture all facets of economic status for entire populations, but measures such as median or average annual income are the most often used. The economic status of most individuals, especially children, is better reflected by the pooled resources of family or household members than by their individual earnings or income.

The average income of American families has increased markedly over the past 50 years. Between the mid-1970s and the early 1990s, however, the median family incomes of blacks and Hispanics were stagnant, whereas the median income of non-Hispanic whites generally increased (Economic Status 1). The income of non-Hispanic white and Asian families is nearly twice that of black and Hispanic families. Since the early 1990s, black family income has risen, but Hispanic income fell and only recently began to rise. As a result, the ratio of black to non-Hispanic white median family income is about the same today as it was 30 years ago, whereas the ratio of Hispanic to non-Hispanic white income has fallen markedly since the early 1970s.

The decline in the relative position of Hispanics is due, at least in part, to immigration of Hispanics with relatively low levels of education and income. The lack of relative progress among black families is in part due to the large rise in single parent families among blacks (Population 6). However, even if family structure had not changed since 1967, the gap in average family income between blacks and whites in 1996 would be reduced by only about one-fifth.<sup>1</sup> Other factors contributing to differences in family income include differences in educational attainment, unemployment rates, and wage rates. Median family income of Asians is slightly higher than that of non-Hispanic whites, consistent with Asians' high levels of educational attainment and the higher percentage of Asian families with two or more earners.

Differences in median incomes provide only a partial description of differences in the income distributions of groups. A second indicator is the poverty rate: the proportion who lack the economic resources needed to purchase a minimally acceptable standard of living. There is no scientifically adequate method for determining the minimally acceptable living standard: this will vary from society to society and over time as living standards and social norms change. The poverty rates presented here are based on the Office of Management and Budget's official definition. Alternative measures reveal similar disparities in poverty rates among racial and ethnic groups.<sup>2</sup>

Despite their higher median income, the rate of poverty among Asians in the United States is more than 50 percent higher than the poverty rate of non-Hispanic whites (Economic Status 2). This reflects the economic and educational diversity of the Asian population. Blacks, Hispanics, and American Indians have much higher rates of poverty than non-Hispanic whites and Asians. The Hispanic poverty rate has generally risen since the 1970s and surpassed the rate for blacks in the early 1990s. Although still very high, the black poverty rate has declined since the early 1990s and reached an all-time low in 1996. According to the 1990 census, in 1989 the poverty rate for American Indians was higher than that of any other group.<sup>3</sup>

Poverty among children is of particular concern. Child poverty not only reflects current economic problems among poor families with children, but it is also associated with inequality of opportunity, risks to health and child development, and long-term economic disadvantage. Although child poverty rates exceed overall individual poverty rates, differences between racial and ethnic groups in child poverty mirror those in overall poverty. Black, Hispanic, and American Indian children have higher poverty rates than non-Hispanic white and Asian children (Economic Status 3).

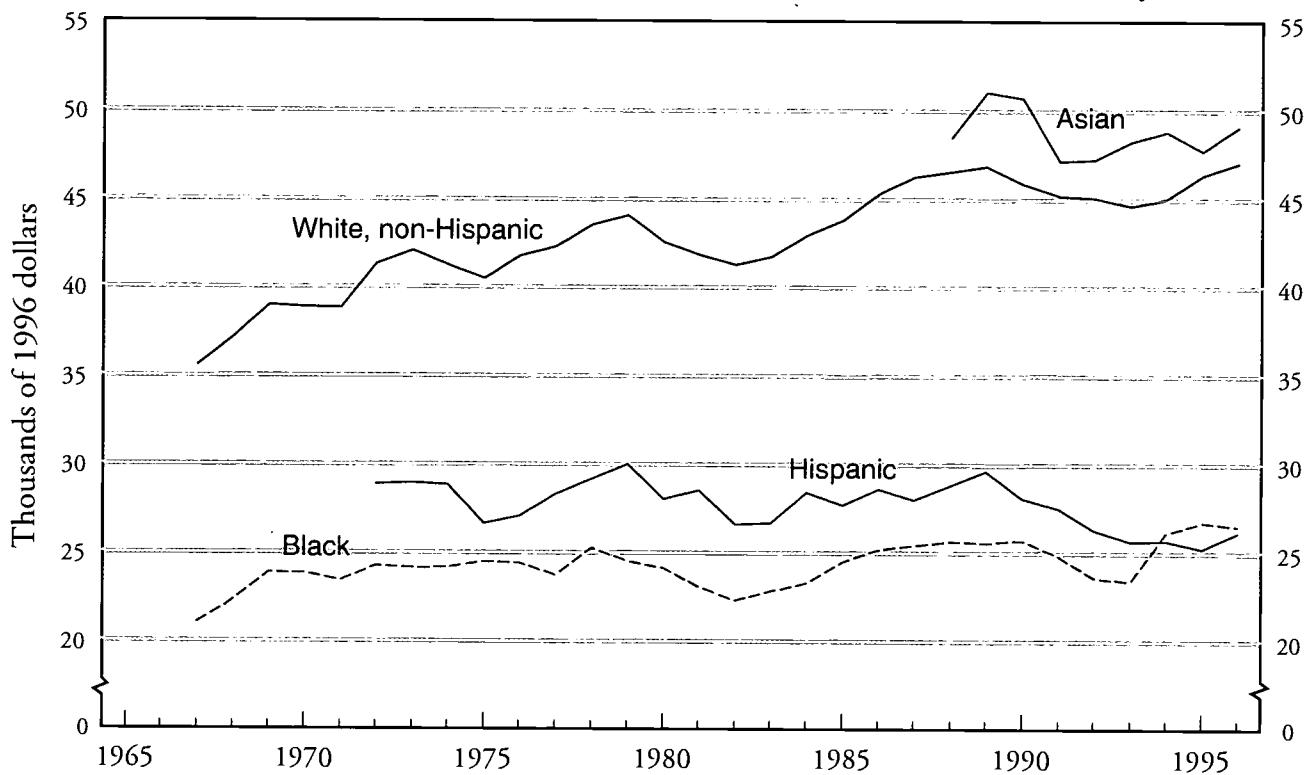
Some of the disparities in poverty rates between racial and ethnic groups can be explained by differences in factors such as age distribution, family structure, and educational attainment. However, substantial differentials between groups exist even among individuals with similar characteristics (Economic Status 4). For example, poverty rates among the elderly are considerably higher among blacks and Hispanics than among whites and Asians. Similarly, although poverty rates are relatively high for all children in single-parent families maintained by women, they are considerably higher for Hispanic and black children than for white children in such families. Among persons aged 25 and over without a high school degree, poverty rates for blacks, Hispanics, and Asians are well above those of whites.

Asset holdings are another important indicator of economic well-being. Greater wealth allows a household to maintain its standard of living when income falls because of job loss, health problems, or family changes such as divorce or widowhood. Wealth also provides resources that can be used to finance education or to start a business. Disparities in asset holdings across racial and ethnic groups are large and exceed disparities in income (Economic Status 5). In 1993, the net worth (assets minus liabilities) of households maintained by whites was about 10 times that of households maintained by blacks or Hispanics. Even among households with similar monthly incomes, net asset holdings are far higher among whites than blacks or Hispanics.<sup>4</sup>

1. Council of Economic Advisers. 1998. *Economic Report of the President*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
2. Citro, Constance F. and Robert T. Michael, eds. 1995. *Measuring Poverty: A New Approach*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
3. U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1993. *1990 Census of Population: Social and Economic Characteristics, United States*. Washington, DC.
4. Eller, T.J. and Wallace Fraser. 1995. *Asset Ownership of Households: 1993*. U.S. Bureau of the Census. Current Population Reports, P70-47. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

## 1. Median Family Income

Source: Bureau of the Census

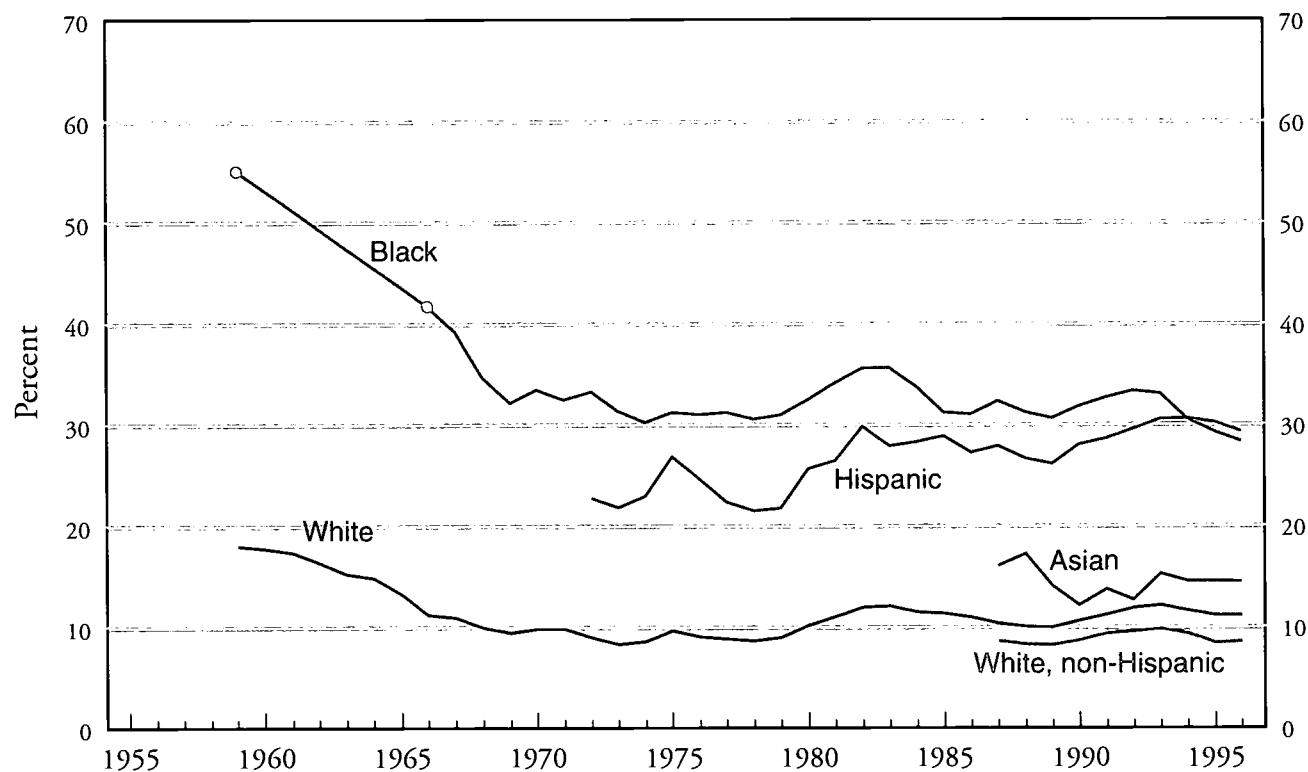


- Median annual family income is a commonly used indicator of current family economic status.
- Asian and non-Hispanic white families have much higher median incomes than black or Hispanic families. The median income of black families as a percentage of non-Hispanic white median family income was about the same in 1997 as in 1967, at less than 60 percent. Hispanic median family income has fallen in absolute terms (and relative to that of non-Hispanic whites) since 1972, in part due to the increasing representation of immigrants in the Hispanic population.
- There are great differences in income among Asian subgroups. For example, according to the 1990 census, the median family income of Japanese Americans exceeded that of non-Hispanic white families, whereas the income of Cambodian American families was lower than that of black families.
- According to the 1990 census, the median family income of American Indians (not shown in chart) was lower than that of blacks.

Note: Prior to 1972, data for whites include Hispanic whites.

## 2. Poverty Rates for Individuals

Source: Bureau of the Census

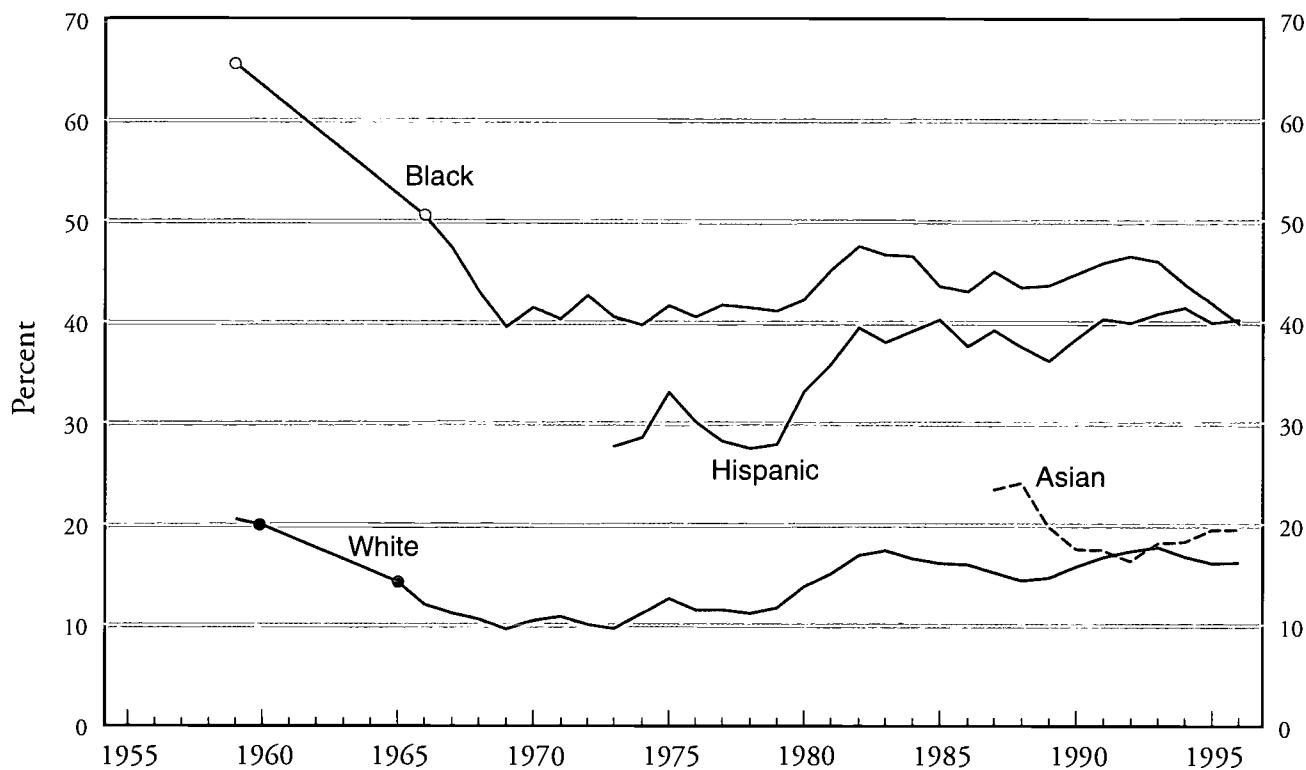


- The poverty rate—a widely used indicator of economic disadvantage—measures the proportion of a population whose cash income is below the official poverty line. The poverty line is adjusted for family size. In 1996 the poverty line for a family of four was \$16,036.
- Poverty rates for all racial and ethnic groups fell over the 1960s and early 1970s but improved little over the next 20 years. Poverty rates have fallen since 1993, however, particularly among blacks.
- The poverty rate for non-Hispanic whites remains well below that of Asians, blacks, and Hispanics. According to the 1990 census, the poverty rate for American Indians was the highest among the five racial and ethnic groups. The poverty rate for Hispanics increased from the 1970s until the early 1990s, and it has been above the rate for blacks since 1994. The increase in Hispanic poverty is partly the result of the lower educational and economic attainment of many Hispanic immigrants.
- Although their median family income exceeds that of non-Hispanic whites, Asians are more likely than non-Hispanic whites to be poor. This combination of relatively high poverty and high median income reflects the great economic diversity of the U.S. Asian population.

*Note: Straight line between dots indicates data are not available for intervening years.*

### 3. Poverty Rates for Children

Source: Bureau of the Census

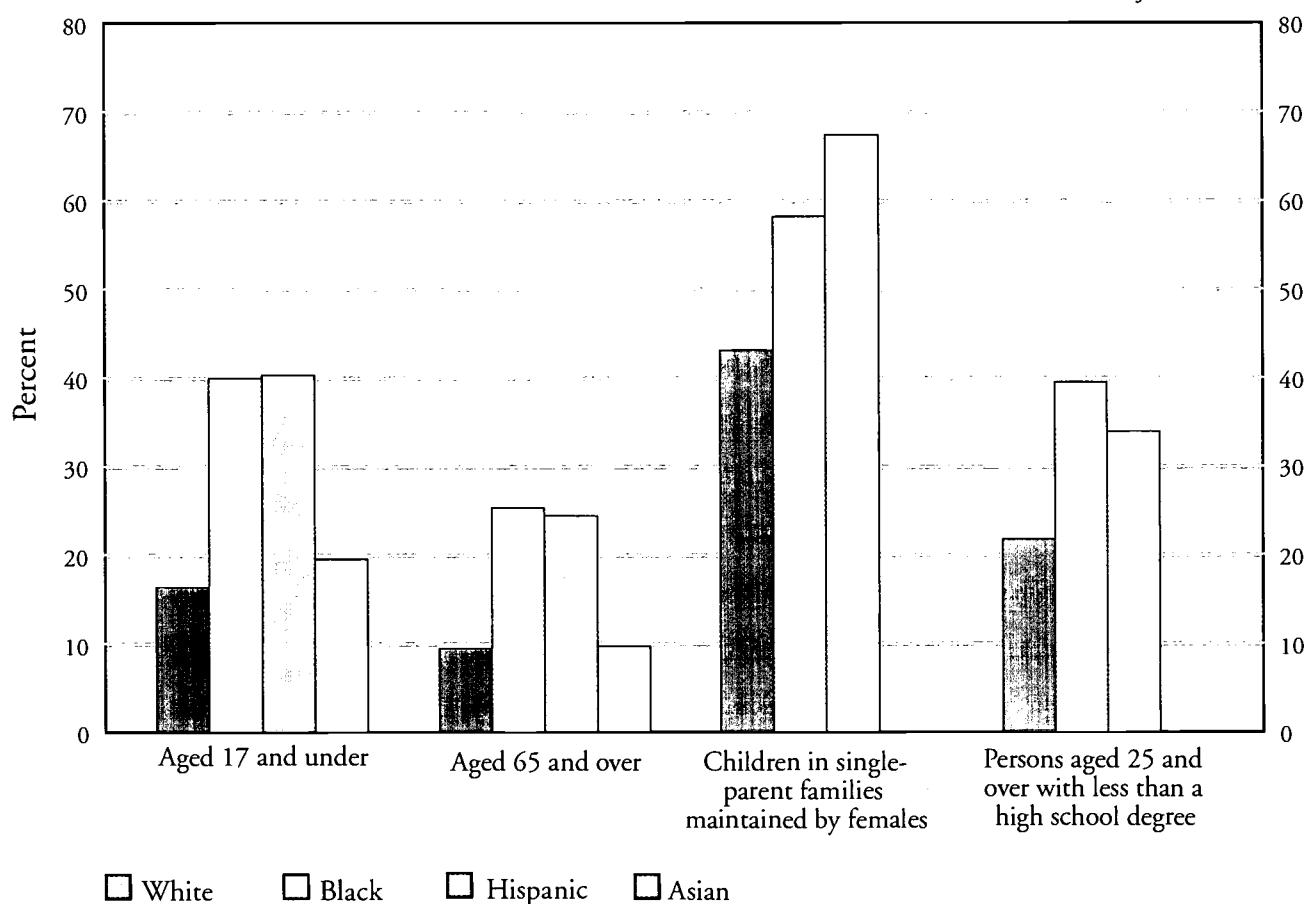


- Child poverty measures current economic hardship among families with children. Poverty in childhood is also associated with higher risk for poor child health, delayed cognitive development, and poverty in adulthood. As such, it is an indicator of inequality of opportunity and a predictor of long-term economic disadvantage.
- Child poverty rates for all groups declined sharply in the 1960s. Since then, child poverty rates have fluctuated with the economy and edged up for whites, blacks, and Hispanics over the 1970s and 1980s. Child poverty has fallen since the early 1990s for blacks and whites.
- The poverty rate for Hispanic children has increased more rapidly than for other groups and is currently about equal to that of black children. According to the 1990 census, American Indian children (not shown in chart) had a poverty rate second only to that of black children.

Note: Straight line between dots indicates data are not available for intervening years. Prior to 1974 for whites and blacks, and prior to 1976 for Hispanics, poverty rates are for related children in families.

#### 4. Poverty Rates by Selected Individual Characteristics, 1996

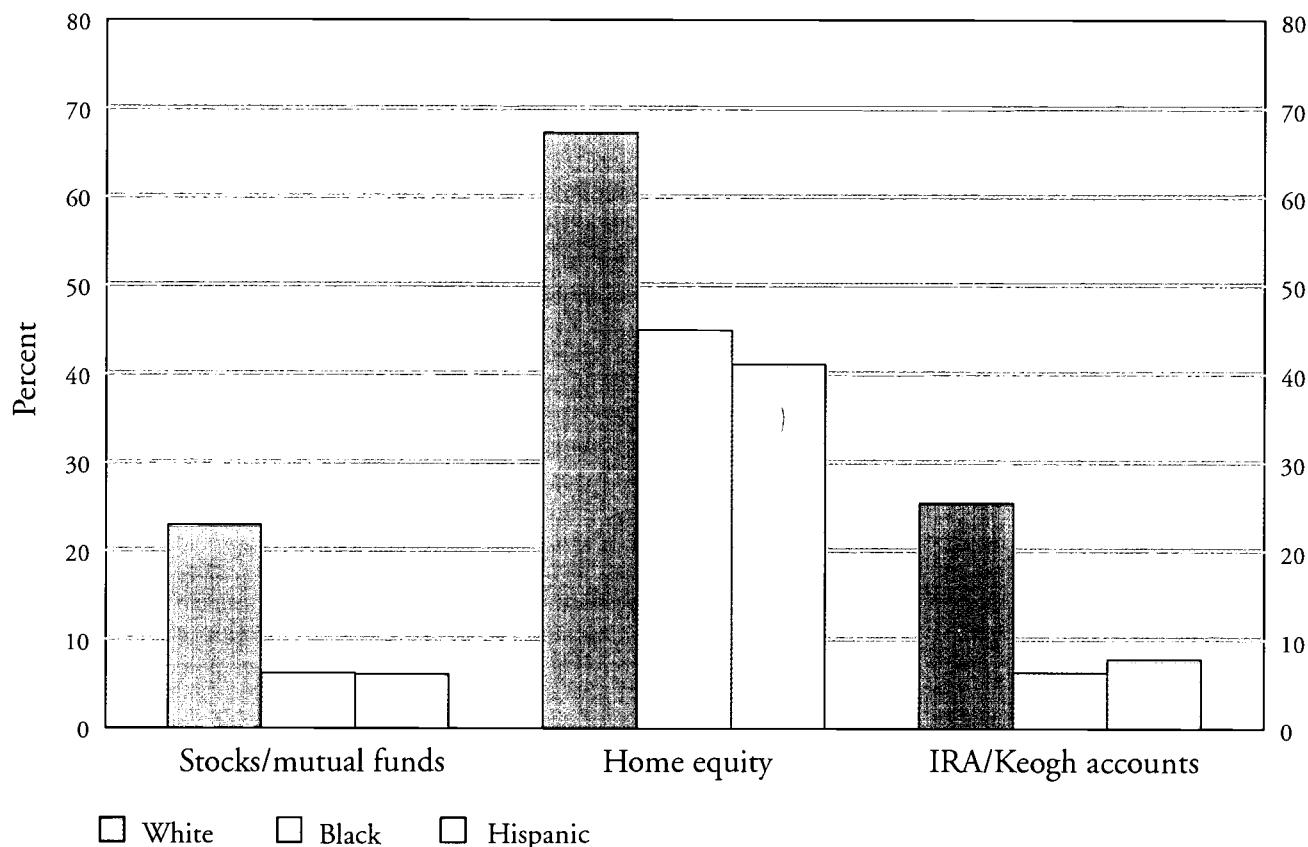
Source: Bureau of the Census



- The higher poverty rates of blacks and Hispanics are in part related to educational attainment, the age distribution, and the prevalence of single-parent families for those groups. However, even among individuals with similar characteristics, poverty rates are higher for blacks and Hispanics than for whites. Lower wages and higher unemployment play a role in these differences.

## 5. Households Owning Selected Assets, 1993

Source: Bureau of the Census



- Net worth (assets minus liabilities) is a better indicator of permanent economic status than is income in a single year. Such wealth can provide a cushion against temporary economic hardship.
- In 1993, households maintained by whites were more likely than those maintained by blacks or Hispanics to own stocks or mutual funds, have equity in their home, or hold assets in a retirement savings account such as an individual retirement account (IRA) or Keogh account.
- Differences in stock ownership in 1993 are notable because the value of equity shares has increased markedly since that time; for example, the Standard and Poor's 500 Index has more than doubled in value since 1993.
- Among those who own assets of each type shown above, the median value (not shown in chart) of assets held by whites is higher than that of assets owned by blacks and Hispanics. In 1993, the median net worth of households maintained by whites was about 10 times that of households maintained by blacks or Hispanics.

## **VI. Health**

Advances in public health practice and medical technology have contributed to dramatic improvements in the longevity of the U.S. population. On average, Americans in 1900 could not expect to live to the age of 50. By 1996 they could expect to live past the age of 76. Although all racial and ethnic groups have experienced gains in life expectancy, differences between groups in longevity and in many other measures of health status have been apparent for as long as these measures have been collected separately by race. This is true for measures of health status at the beginning, middle, and end of the life span. For some groups and some measures, these differences are persistently large. For others, the differences are small.

In general, blacks fare worse than any other group, and American Indians and Hispanics are often disadvantaged in health status relative to whites. On average, Asians fare as well as and sometimes better than non-Hispanic whites on most measures of health. While many of the observed differences are large, average differences between racial and ethnic groups may mask important differences within the society. For instance, there is evidence that blacks who live in very poor urban areas suffer extreme health disadvantages not only relative to non-Hispanic whites but also relative to blacks who live in poor rural areas or middle class urban neighborhoods.<sup>1</sup> In addition, health differences by national origin, socioeconomic status, and age, particularly within the Hispanic and Asian populations, are not apparent when statistics are reported at this level of aggregation. For example, there is some evidence that the health status of younger cohorts of Hispanics may be declining,<sup>2</sup> and among Asian/Pacific Islanders, those with low incomes and those with origins in south and southeast Asia are disadvantaged relative to other Asian groups and non-Hispanic whites.<sup>3</sup>

Infant mortality is often used to compare the health and well-being of populations across countries as well as within countries. Although the United States has a lower rate of infant mortality than a typical developing country, it has long had one of the highest infant mortality rates among the industrialized countries. Within the United States, blacks and American Indians have higher infant mortality rates than other groups, and although infant mortality rates have been falling for all groups, differences between groups have persisted (Health 1).

Declines in infant mortality and infectious diseases among the young contributed much to the increase in overall life expectancy in the early part of the 20th century. In the latter part of the century, the large declines in chronic disease death rates among the middle aged and older groups have led to an acceleration of life expectancy. However, differences in life expectancy between whites and blacks have persisted throughout the period, and, among men, they actually grew in the 1980s (Health 2).

Childhood infectious diseases, once a significant cause of illness and death among children, have largely been conquered through widespread use of vaccination. Mandatory vaccination requirements for enrollment in most schools in the United States virtually assure vaccination by age five. However, a large majority of children in the United States receive vaccinations much earlier, following the recommended schedule that begins at birth and is largely complete by 18 months. Whether or not a child aged 19 to 35 months is up to date with this schedule is a key indicator of access to and use of basic medical care. Although there are differences among racial and ethnic groups in the United States, these are largely a reflection of differences in their economic status (Health 3).

Smoking contributes to nearly 400,000 cancer and heart disease deaths annually, and reducing smoking has been an important goal of public health efforts for many years.<sup>4</sup> Because of the addictive property of nicotine, and because most current smokers began smoking at young ages, efforts to reduce smoking have focused on youth. Between 1965 and 1990, there were large reductions in smoking among 18- to 24-year olds, especially for blacks (Health 4). Since 1990, however, there is concern that this decline has stopped. Rates of smoking among 18- to 24-year olds are higher for whites than for blacks and Hispanics. Data for this age group are not available for Asians and American Indians; however, among persons aged 18 to 34, smoking rates for Asians are lower than those for all other groups, and rates for American Indians are higher than those of all other groups.<sup>5</sup>

The other major areas of concern for adolescent and young adult health are unintentional injuries (primarily motor vehicle injuries), homicides, suicides, and HIV (Human Immunodeficiency Virus, the virus that causes AIDS). There are also racial and ethnic differences within this age group. American Indians face much higher death rates due to suicides and unintentional injuries than any other group, while blacks face much higher rates of homicide than any other group (Health 5). Hispanics and American Indians also face higher than average homicide rates. HIV disease kills black and Hispanic young adults at significantly higher rates than non-Hispanic whites, Asians, or American Indians.

At middle age, chronic diseases are among the most important indicators of health. Heart disease and cancer are the two leading causes of premature death for those aged 45 to 64, and much of this mortality is directly attributable to smoking.<sup>6</sup> Asians in this age range face the lowest death rates due to heart disease (Health 6). Blacks, on the other hand, are at greater risk of mortality from these chronic diseases than any other group in this age range. These differences in death rates from chronic diseases are responsible for a majority of the disparity between blacks and whites in the probability of survival to age 65.<sup>7</sup>

There is also evidence that health differences persist into old age, although these data are not presented in this book. Black and Hispanic elderly are more likely to have disabilities and chronic diseases than white elderly, but to some extent these differences are explained by differences in socioeconomic status.<sup>8</sup>

Research into the reasons for health differences between racial and ethnic groups has focused largely on differences in socioeconomic status.<sup>9</sup> On average, white Americans have better access to the social and economic resources necessary for healthy environments and lifestyles and better access to preventive medical services. Other research suggests that discrimination and racism create stress leading to poorer health among members of racial minority groups.<sup>10</sup> For instance, the higher prevalence of hypertension among blacks relative to whites has been linked to personal experiences of discrimination.<sup>11</sup>

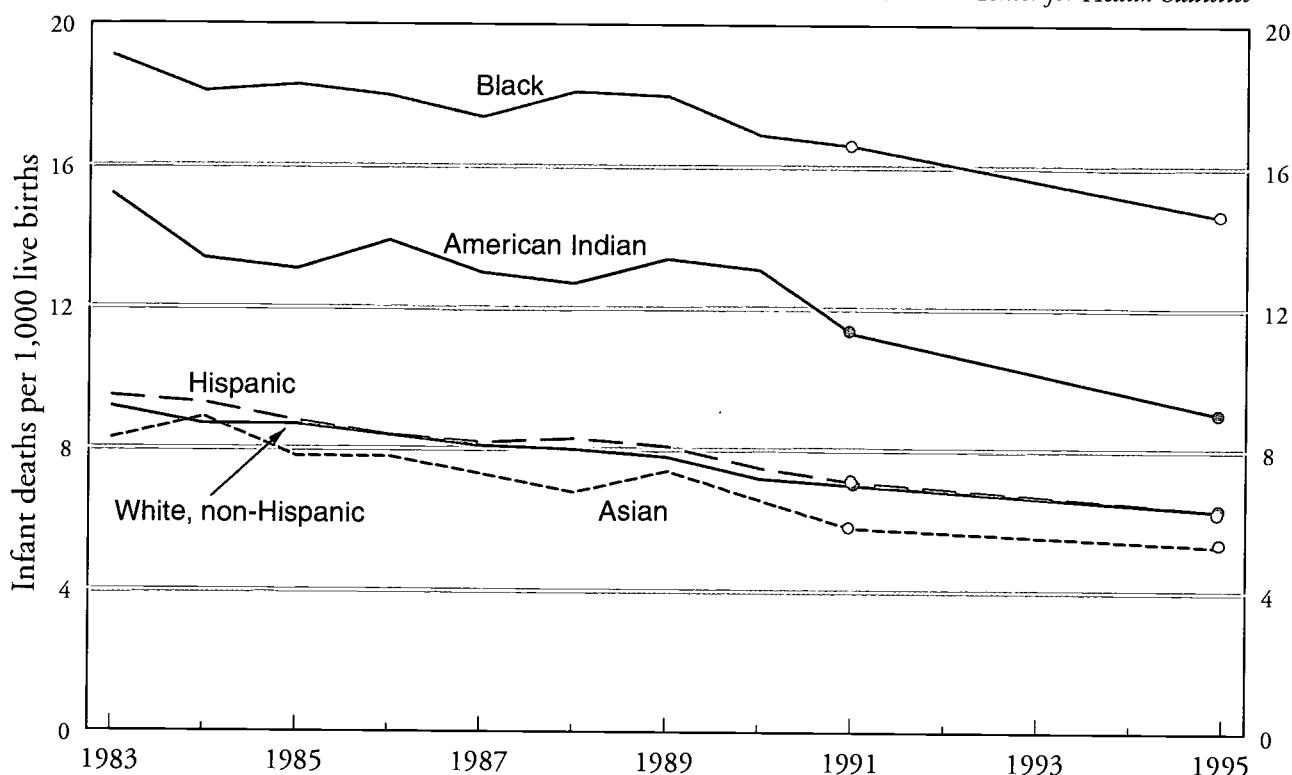
To the extent that access to medical care can prevent the onset of disease or ameliorate its effects, the portion of the population without health insurance (either public or private) will be correlated with ill health. Especially among men, Hispanics and blacks are less likely to have health insurance than non-Hispanic whites (Health 7). Insurance coverage is highly correlated with income, however, and the difference in insurance coverage between white and black men (though not the difference between Hispanic and non-Hispanic white men) can be almost entirely explained by differences in income.

Disparities in health status also have economic consequences. For example, poor health can lead to high expenditures on medical care at the expense of other goods (for example, housing or education). Perhaps more important, poor health can also reduce earning potential and lower quality of life. Thus, the disparities observed in health between racial and ethnic groups in the United States are tied to differences in many other economic and social realms.

1. Geronimus, Arline, et al. 1996. "Excess Mortality among Blacks and Whites in the United States." *New England Journal of Medicine* 335 (21):1552–58.
2. Liao, Youlian, et al. 1998. "Mortality Patterns among Adult Hispanics: Findings from the NHIS, 1986–1990." *American Journal of Public Health* 88 (2):227–32.
3. Tanjasiri, Sora P., Steven P. Wallace, and Kazue Shibata. 1995. "Picture Imperfect: Hidden Problems among Asian Pacific Islander Elderly." *The Gerontologist* 35 (6):753–60; Klatsky, Arthur L., et al. 1994. "The Risk of Hospitalization for Ischemic Heart Disease among Asian Americans in Northern California." *American Journal of Public Health* 84 (10):1672–75.
4. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. 1997. "Smoking-Attributable Mortality and Years of Potential Life Lost—United States, 1984." *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report* 46 (20):444–51.
5. U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. 1998. *Tobacco Use Among U.S. Racial/Ethnic Minority Groups—African Americans, American Indians and Alaska Natives, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, and Hispanics: A Report of the Surgeon General*. Atlanta, Georgia: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.
6. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. 1993. "Cigarette Smoking-Attributable Mortality and Years of Potential Life Lost—United States, 1990." *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report* 42 (33):645–48.
7. Geronimus, et al. "Excess Mortality among Blacks and Whites in the United States."
8. Schoenbaum, Michael and Timothy Waidmann. 1997. "Race, Socioeconomic Status, and Health: Accounting for Race Differences in Health." *Journals of Gerontology* 52B (Special issue):61–73; Smith, James P. and Raynard Kington. 1997. "Demographic and Economic Correlates of Health in Old Age." *Demography* 34 (1):159–70.
9. Williams, David R. 1990. "Socioeconomic Differentials in Health: A Review and Redirection." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 53 (2):81–99.
10. Williams, David R., Risa Lavizzo-Mourey, and Rueben C. Warren. 1994. "The Concept of Race and Health Status in America." *Public Health Reports* 109 (1):26–41.
11. James, Sherman A. 1994. "John Henryism and the Health of African-Americans." *Culture, Medicine, and Psychiatry* 18:163–82; Krieger, Nancy and Stephen Sidney. 1996. "Racial Discrimination and Blood Pressure: The CARDIA Study of Young Black and White Adults." *American Journal of Public Health* 86 (10):1370–78.

## 1. Infant Mortality Rates

Source: National Center for Health Statistics

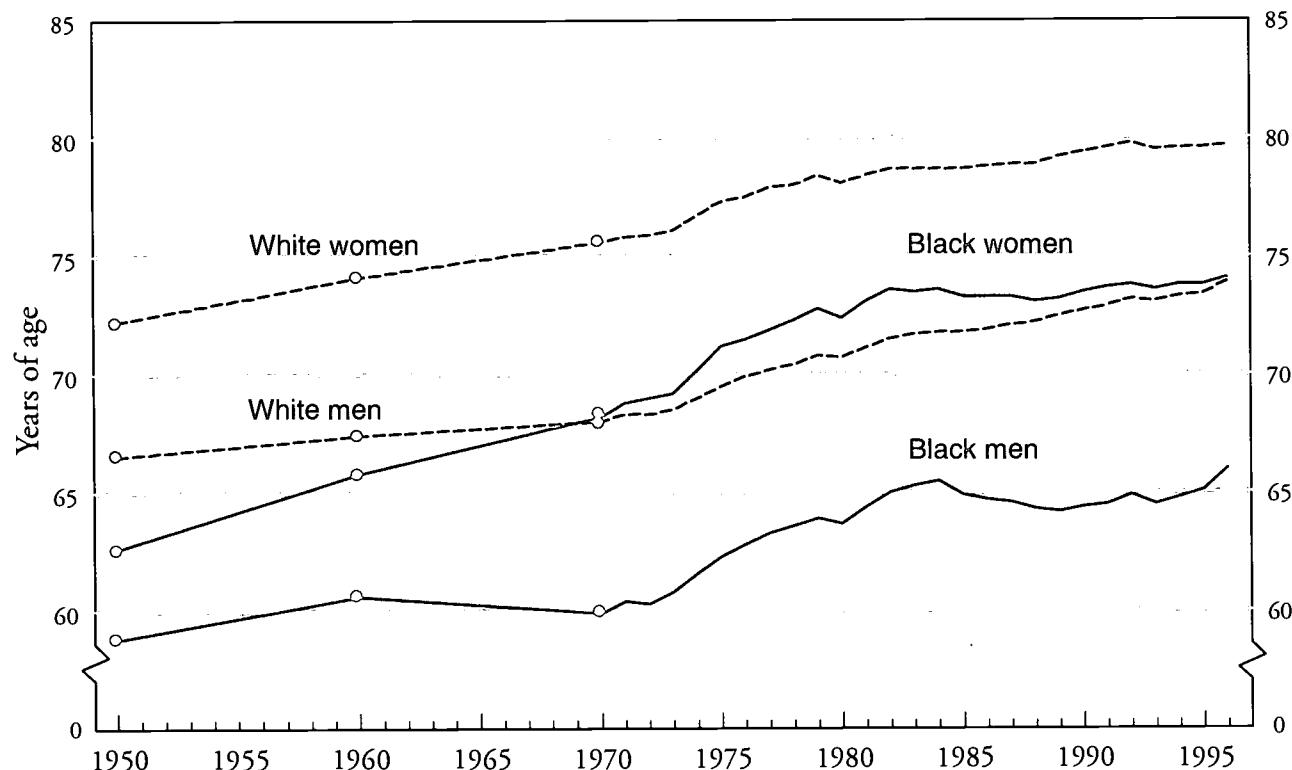


- The infant mortality rate is often used as a primary indicator of the overall health status of a population. It is defined as the number of deaths that occur before a child's first birthday per 1,000 live births. Rates presented here are categorized by race and Hispanic origin of mother.
- Although infant mortality rates have fallen over time for all racial and ethnic groups, differences between groups have persisted for many years. In 1950, for example, white infants died at a rate of approximately 27 per thousand, while black infants died at a rate of nearly 44 per thousand (not shown in chart).
- Wide disparities in infant mortality among racial and ethnic groups remain. In 1995 the rate for blacks was more than twice the rate for non-Hispanic whites, Hispanics, and Asians. American Indians also had relatively high rates. It is notable that Hispanic infant mortality rates are equivalent to those of non-Hispanic whites, despite the considerably lower socioeconomic status of Hispanics.
- For most groups, the infant mortality rate is much higher for babies born to teenage mothers (not shown in chart). The notable exception is black mothers, for whom the infant mortality rate is no higher for teenage mothers than for other mothers. This means that higher teenage birth rates do not account for the higher overall black infant mortality rate.

*Note: Straight line between dots indicates data are not available for intervening years.*

## 2. Life Expectancy at Birth

Source: National Center for Health Statistics

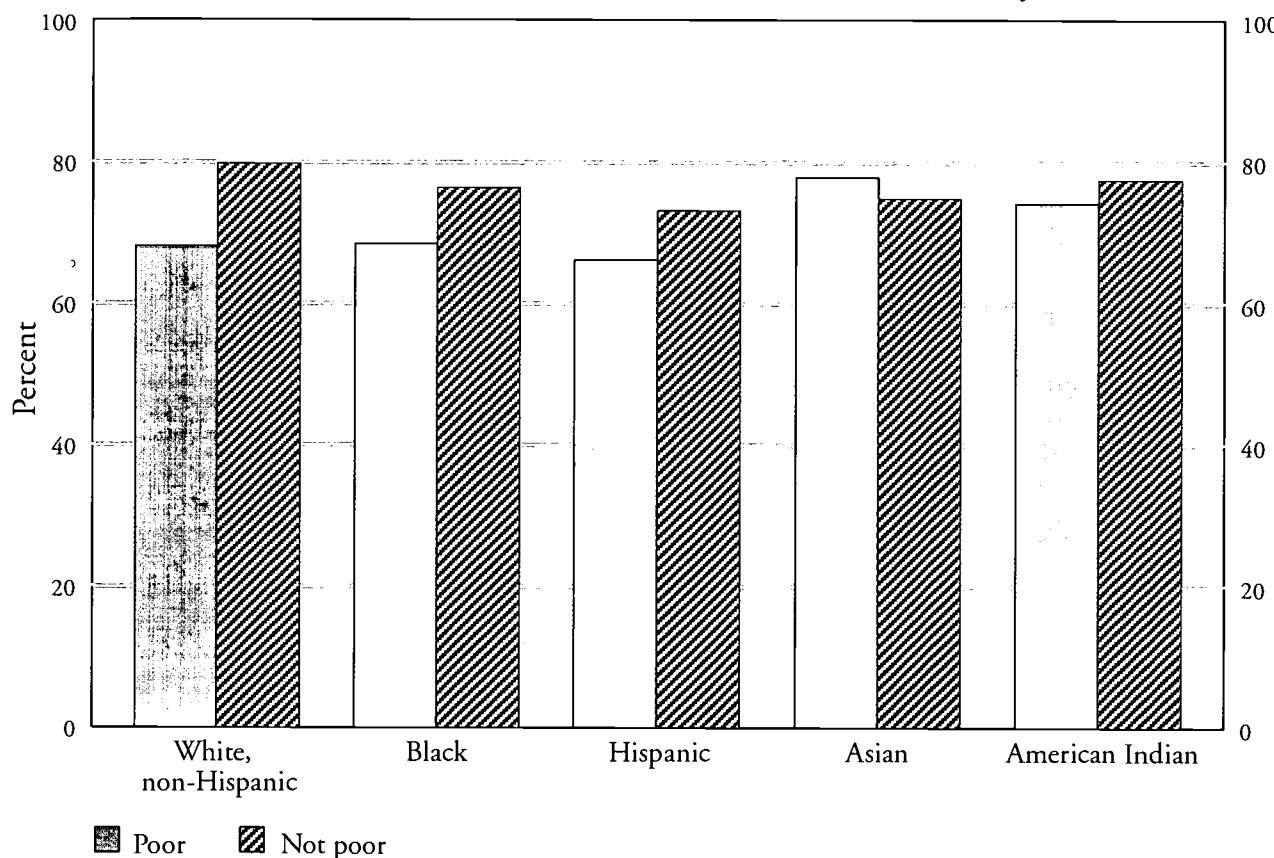


- A key summary measure of mortality risk is life expectancy at birth. This represents the average length of time that a baby born today would live if current death rates at each age remained constant.
- For both men and women, whites can expect to live longer than blacks.
- Women of both race groups can expect to live longer than their male counterparts.
- Although life expectancy has increased substantially for all groups, the differences between groups increased during the 1980s, particularly among men. Recently, however, the gap has narrowed slightly.

*Note: Straight line between dots indicates data are not shown in intervening years.*

### 3. Children Aged 19 to 35 Months Who Are Up to Date with Recommended Vaccinations, 1995–96

Source: National Center for Health Statistics



- Immunization is a fundamental component of regular medical care for children. In addition to measuring the extent to which children are protected from childhood diseases, this measure also indicates whether children have at least some access to medical care. This chart shows the percentage of children aged 19 to 35 months who were up to date with the recommended schedule of vaccinations in 1995 and 1996.
- Non-Hispanic white, black, and Hispanic children who live in poverty are significantly less likely than nonpoor children to be up to date with recommended vaccinations.
- Among children in similar economic circumstances, there are relatively small differences between racial and ethnic groups. Non-Hispanic white, black, and Hispanic children in poverty have roughly equal chances of being currently vaccinated.

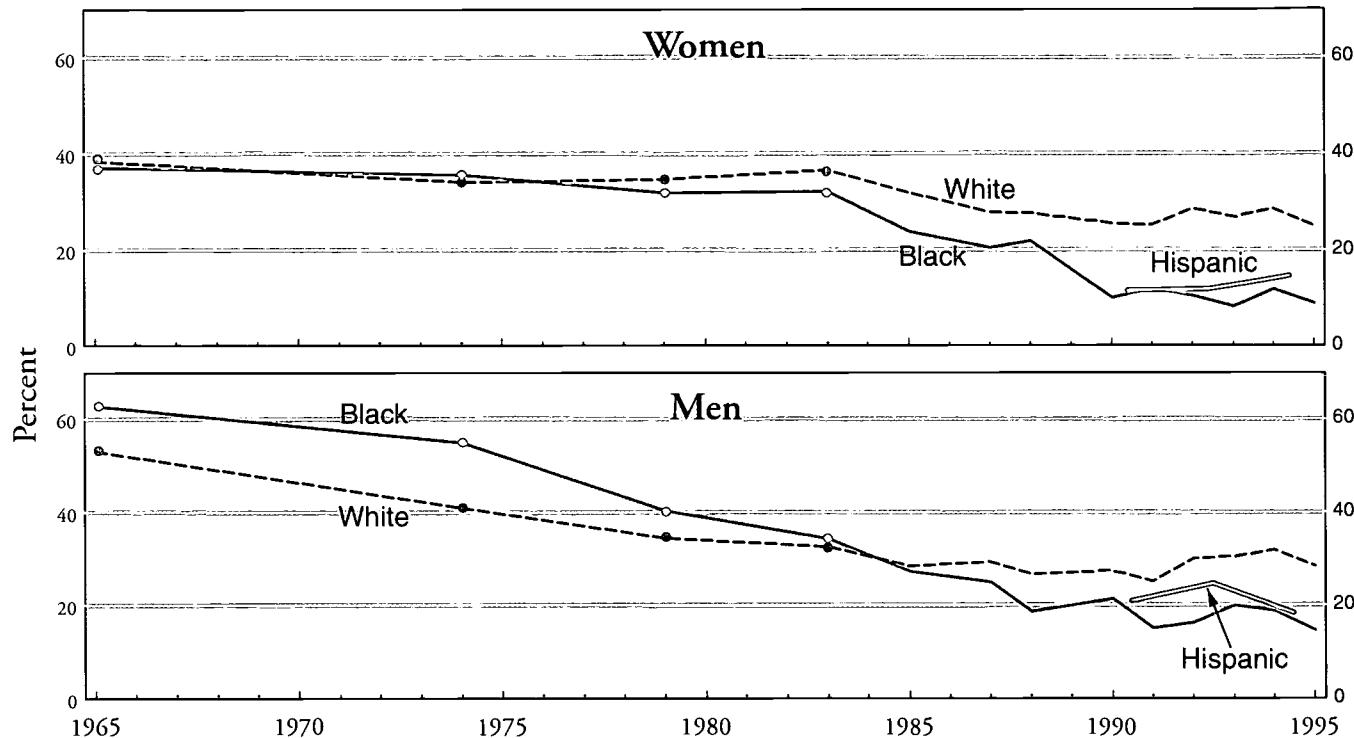
Health

45

*Note: Data for 1995 and 1996 are averaged to provide more reliable estimates.*

## 4. Prevalence of Smoking Among Persons Aged 18 to 24

Source: National Center for Health Statistics

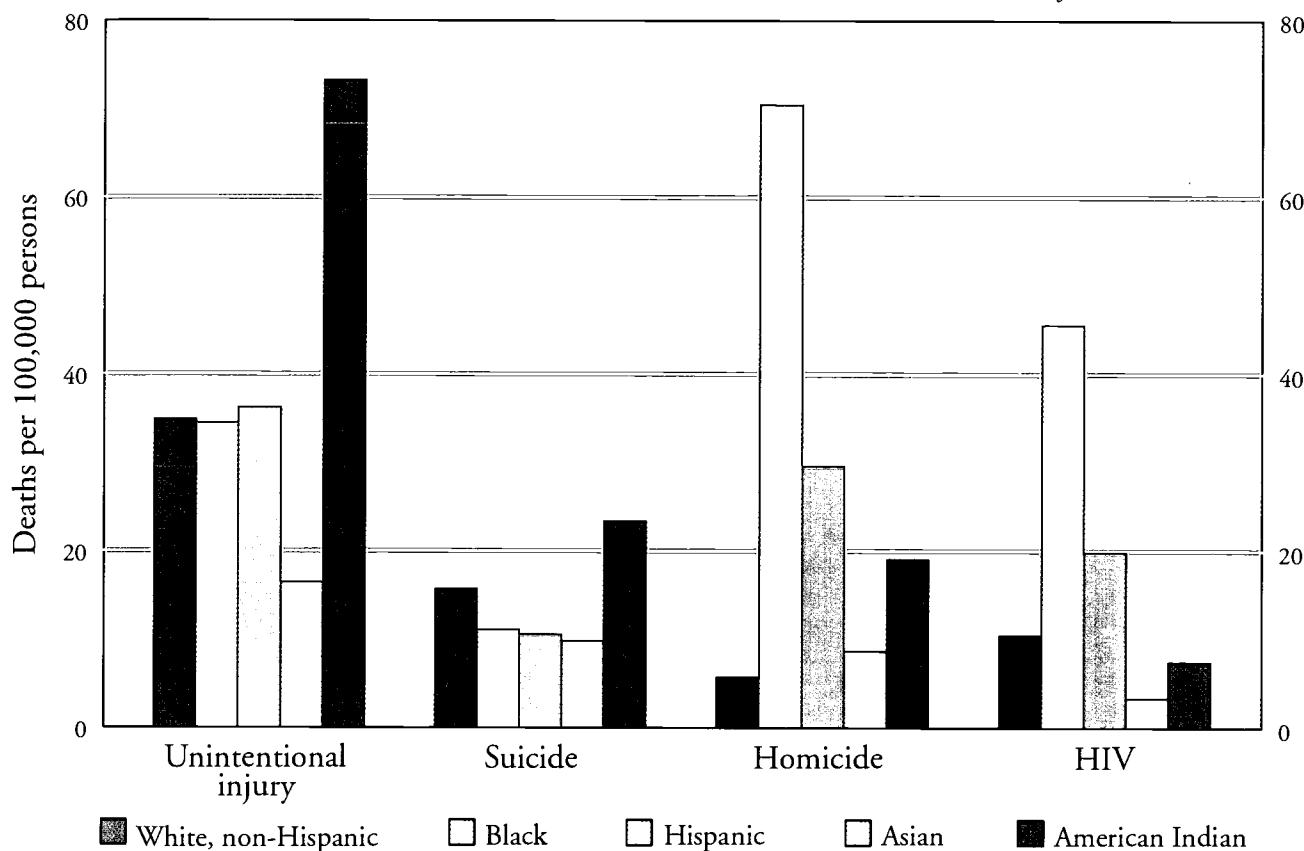


- Cigarette smoking is one of the most important public health concerns in the United States, contributing to nearly 400,000 deaths each year. Most smokers begin smoking early in life, and much effort to reduce smoking has been focused on young people.
- Smoking rates for white young persons exceed rates for black and Hispanic young persons. Black females have the lowest smoking rates. For men, and for black men in particular, smoking rates have fallen substantially since 1965, when more than 60 percent of black males and more than 50 percent of white males smoked. Reductions in smoking have been much greater for black than for white women.
- Since the mid-1980s, smoking prevalence among black young adults has fallen faster than among whites.
- Data for Hispanics are only available beginning in 1990–91. Smoking is less prevalent among Hispanics than among whites but is slightly more prevalent than among blacks.

*Note: Straight line between dots indicates data are not available for intervening years. Data for Hispanics are for 1990–91, 1992–93, and 1994–95.*

## 5. Death Rates by Cause for Persons Aged 15 to 34, 1994-95

Source: National Center for Health Statistics

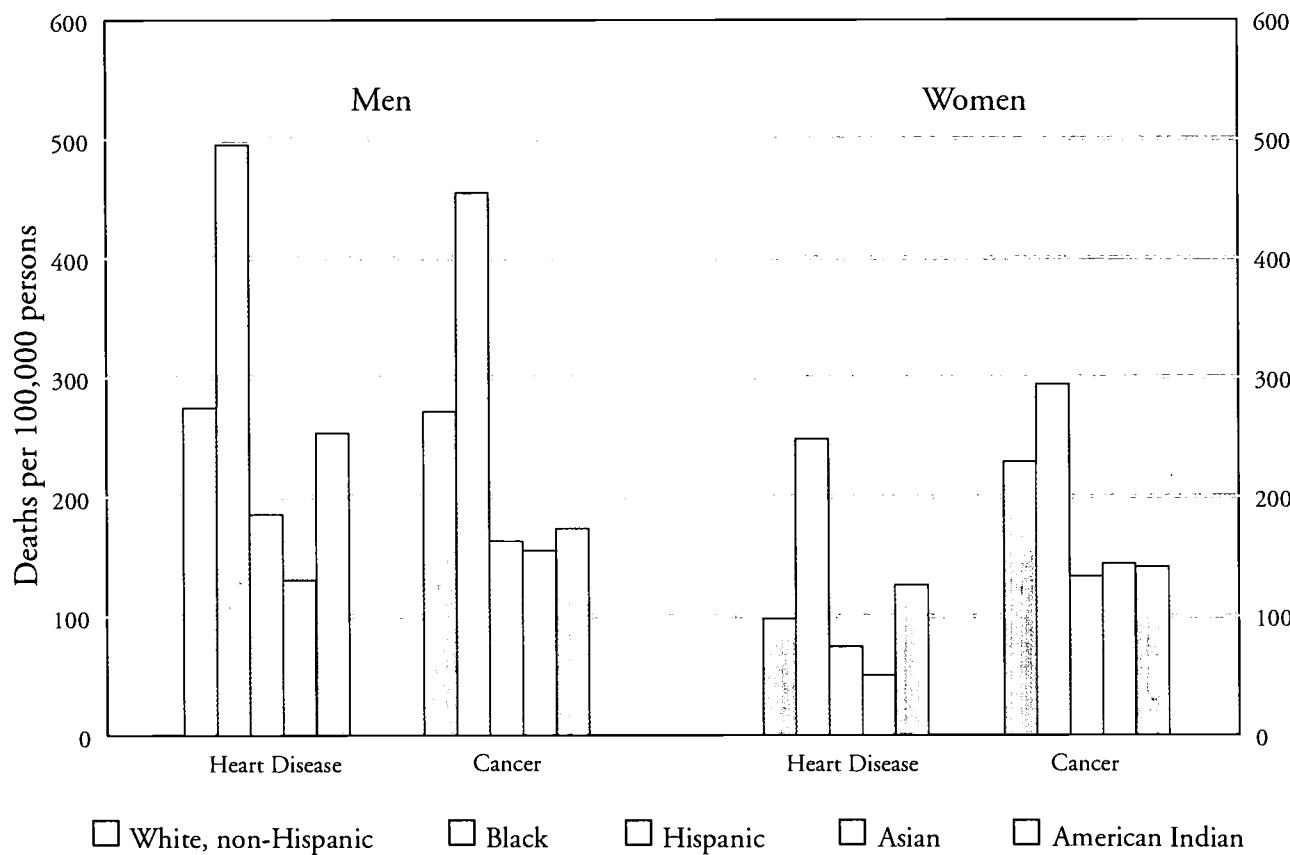


- Although deaths among adolescents and young adults are rare relative to deaths among older adults and the elderly, several causes of death are particularly important for this age group. The most common cause of death in this group is not disease but injury, either intentional or unintentional (accounting for more than half of deaths). The one fatal disease that affects this age group significantly is HIV.
- Deaths due to injuries (unintentional and intentional) are more prevalent among men than women in all age groups (not shown in chart), but this difference is particularly apparent for persons between the ages of 15 and 34. In this group, nearly 80 percent of injury deaths are to men.
- American Indians are much more likely than members of other groups to die as the result of an unintentional injury (the most common cause is motor vehicle-related injuries) or to commit suicide. Blacks are much more likely than members of any other group to be victims of homicide. Blacks and Hispanics are also more likely to die from HIV-related diseases than members of other groups. Asians have the lowest rates of death due to injuries and HIV in this age group.

*Note: Data for 1994 and 1995 are averaged to provide more reliable estimates.  
HIV data on American Indians are for 1993-95.*

## 6. Death Rates by Cause for Persons Aged 45 to 65, 1995

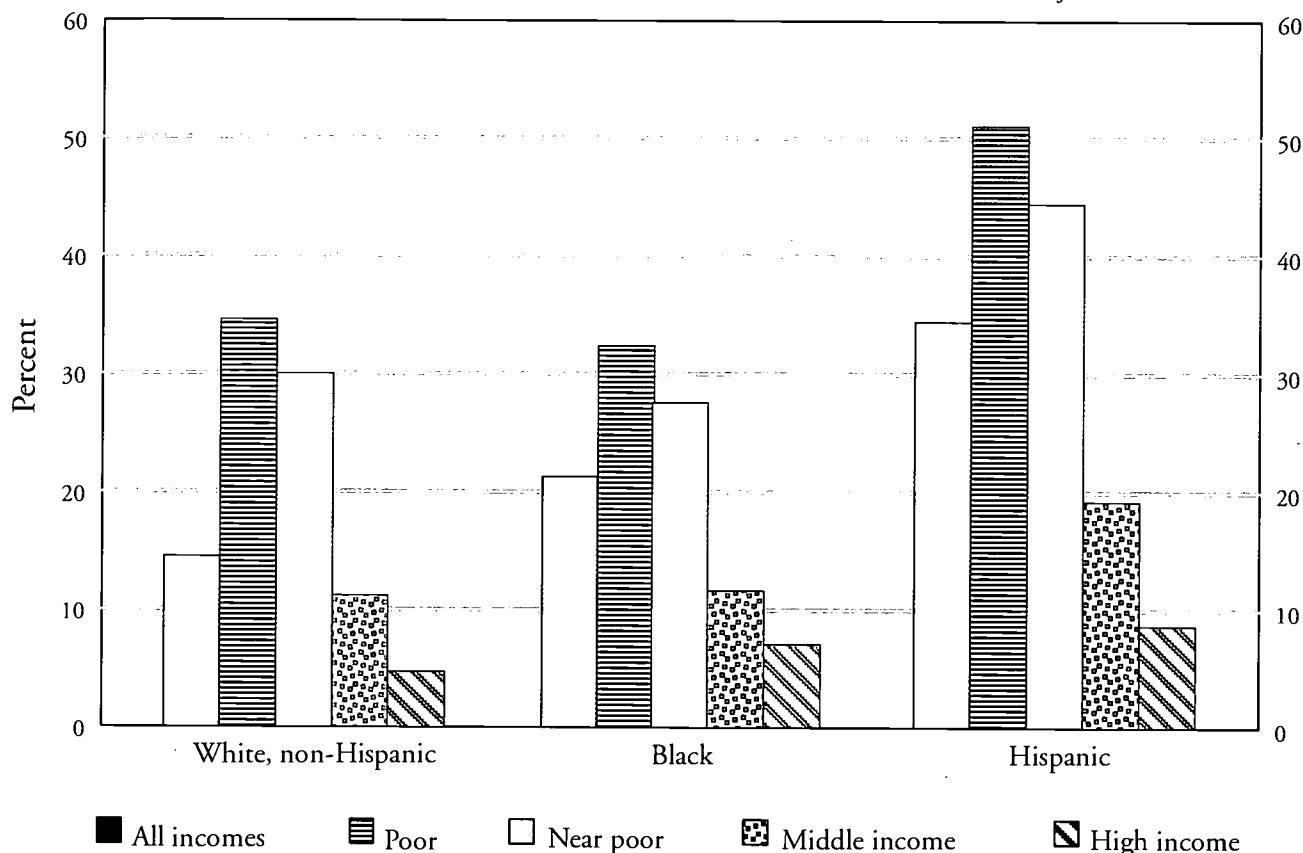
Source: National Center for Health Statistics



- Chronic diseases such as heart disease and cancer account for the largest fraction of deaths among those aged 45 to 64. Smoking is implicated in many of these deaths.
- Black men and women have the highest death rates from heart disease and cancer. Hispanics have lower death rates than non-Hispanic whites for these diseases. Asians generally have the lowest death rates, particularly for heart disease. American Indians have high rates of heart disease mortality relative to Hispanics and Asians.
- Overall, death rates among 45- to 64-year olds are higher for men than for women, largely because of differences in rates of death from these diseases, particularly heart disease.

## 7. Persons Aged 18 to 64 without Health Insurance Coverage, 1994-95

Source: National Center for Health Statistics



- Coverage by health insurance, either private or public (for example, Medicaid), is a key indicator of access to medical care.
- Hispanics are the most likely to be uninsured, and non-Hispanic whites are the least likely to be uninsured. For every group, the rate of uninsurance is lower for those with higher incomes.
- The overall difference in uninsurance rates between non-Hispanic whites and blacks stems from the relative concentration of blacks in lower income categories, as non-Hispanic whites and blacks with similar incomes have similar rates of uninsurance. Hispanics, on the other hand, have higher rates of uninsurance at every level of income.
- In large part because they are more likely to be eligible for Medicaid, women tend to have lower rates of uninsurance than men (not shown in chart).

Note: Percentages are age-adjusted.

## VII. Crime and Criminal Justice

**A** safe environment is important for stable childhood development, good health, and successful involvement in education and the job market. No single summary measure can capture the difficulties that crime creates in the lives of individuals and communities. This section discusses three important aspects of crime and justice: victimization—the experience of being a victim of crime—criminal activity, and the criminal justice system. Violent crime victimization is down in recent years, after rising in the late 1980s, and property crime rates have been declining since the mid-1970s. The prison population has grown substantially over the past 20 years, and increasing numbers of individuals have other involvement in the criminal justice system. The differences by race and Hispanic origin in the experiences with crime and involvement in the justice system are stark.

The measured level of criminal activity and criminal justice supervision is the result of actions by many individuals and institutions, including offenders, victims, the police, the courts, and the prison system. Because of these many actors, differences in observed rates of criminal activity and victimization over time or across groups may be difficult to interpret. For example, if individuals perceive that their risk of being victimized has increased, they may take precautions—such as staying inside more or taking a taxi instead of walking—to reduce that risk. If those precautions are successful, the crime rate may not rise, but crime is still playing a larger role in their lives, and they are certainly worse off.

Crimes fall into three major categories: crimes against persons (including violent crimes), property crimes, and public-order crimes (traditionally, crimes such as drug sales, gambling, and prostitution have been included in this category). Information about the number of crimes is available from two types of sources, victimization surveys and data collected by law enforcement officials (the FBI Crime Index, for example). Since surveys provide more reliable information about the characteristics of victims, victimization data from the National Crime Victimization Survey, rather than FBI data, are presented in this section.

In 1996, Americans were victims of an estimated 27.3 million property crimes and 9.1 million violent crimes. Both property and violent crime rates fell in the mid-1990s. Victims of crime bear psychological, economic, and health costs, and offenders may be arrested and punished for their crimes. Although they are not costless to society, public-order crimes cannot be accurately counted by surveys of households that ask about incidents of victimization.

The effects of crime reach beyond victims and offenders to their families and communities. While in prison or jail, offenders can support neither themselves nor their families—in 1991 more than half of male prisoners had children under 18—and a criminal record can continue to impair individuals' labor market opportunities for years.<sup>1</sup> In addition, political participation may be affected: In many states, those convicted of a felony are temporarily or permanently prohibited from voting. Crime costs the economy billions of dollars each year, including property losses and damage, as well as public and private spending to control crime. But these numbers do not capture the heightened sense of insecurity that crime imposes on individuals and communities.

Hispanics and members of racial minority groups, particularly blacks, are much more likely than whites to be victims of crime. Differences in victimization are particularly striking for violent crimes. For example, the homicide victimization rate of blacks is more than twice that of Hispanics and six times that of non-Hispanic whites and Asians. American Indians' homicide victimization

rate falls between that of Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites and Asians (*Crime and Criminal Justice 1*). The differences in victimization by race and Hispanic origin are much smaller for property crimes than for violent crimes, although differences have grown somewhat since the 1970s. Hispanics have the highest rates of property crime victimization, followed by blacks and whites (*Crime and Criminal Justice 2*).

Unfortunately, reliable national data on involvement in the criminal justice system are available only for blacks, whites, and "others;" discussion of this subject here is limited to black-white differences. Blacks have higher rates of involvement in the criminal justice system than do whites. Although blacks comprised only 13 percent of the population, nearly equal numbers of blacks and whites were admitted to prison in 1995 (*Crime and Criminal Justice 3*). Black adults are much more likely than white adults to be under the supervision of the criminal justice system—on probation or parole, or in jail or prison (*Crime and Criminal Justice 4*).

Blacks represented 43 percent of arrests, 54 percent of convictions, and 59 percent of prison admissions for violent crimes in 1994 (*Crime and Criminal Justice 5*), indicating that arrested blacks are more likely to be convicted, and convicted blacks are more likely to be imprisoned, compared with whites. Historically, America's criminal justice system has clearly been biased against blacks—for example, between 1930 and 1973, southern jurisdictions put to death 398 black men and 43 white men for the crime of rape.<sup>2</sup> More recent instances of discrimination on the part of police and elsewhere in the criminal justice system have been documented in personal and media accounts.<sup>3</sup> But assessing how much continuing discrimination contributes to the large black-white difference in criminal justice system involvement is difficult. Research suggests that most or all of the differences in the likelihood of conviction and imprisonment can be explained by other factors, such as severity of crime or prior record of the offender.<sup>4</sup> Less is known about the extent of discrimination at the arrest stage, in part because underlying rates of criminal activity by race cannot be easily assessed. Some evidence comes from comparing the race distribution of "offenders" derived from victims' surveys with the racial composition of individuals arrested for the same crime. Two studies have found that these distributions are roughly comparable for many violent crimes.<sup>5</sup>

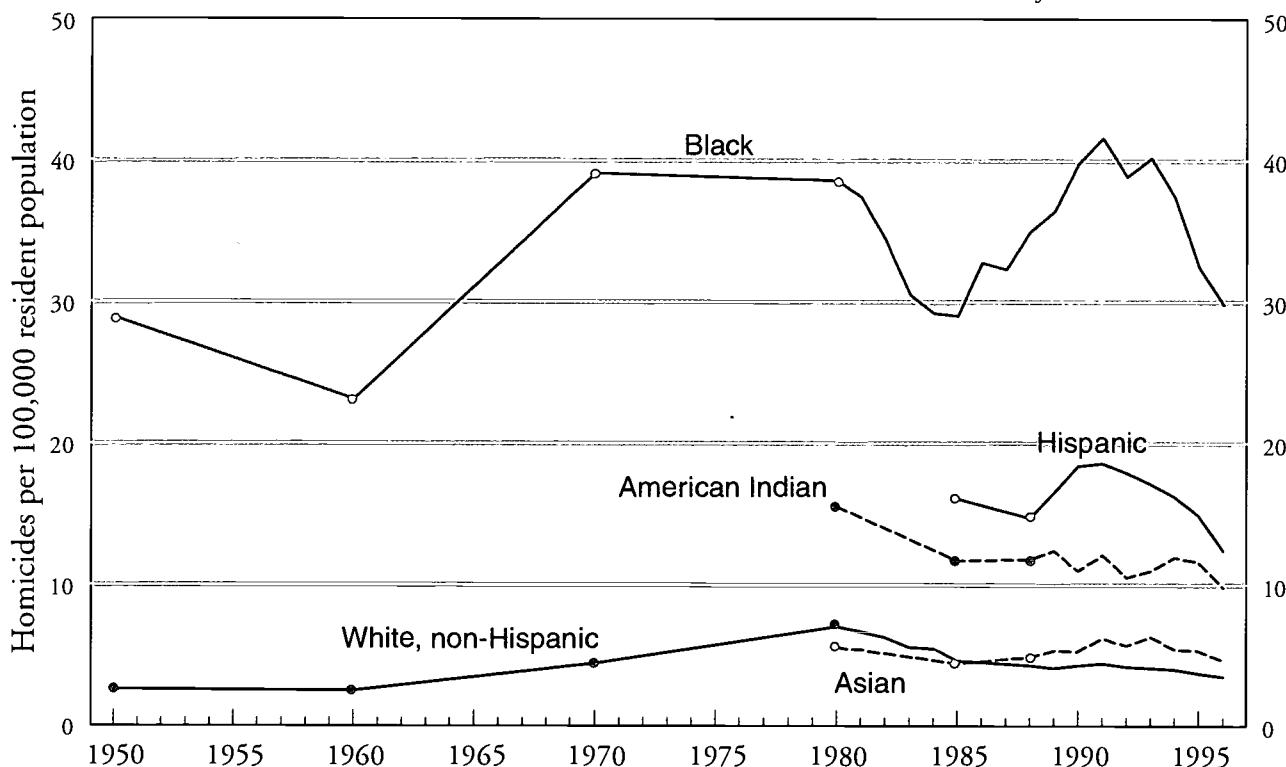
A variety of factors contribute to differences in victimization, criminal activity, and involvement in the criminal justice system, including neighborhoods, economic status, and education. Those who have poorer earnings prospects in the legal job market may be more likely to engage in criminal activity. Since the 1970s, earnings for low-skilled men have deteriorated markedly, increasing the attractiveness of illegal compared to legal job prospects. This trend may explain some of the rise in prison admissions and criminal justice system involvement. In addition, since blacks, Hispanics, and American Indians are over represented at the bottom of the earnings distribution, those groups have been disproportionately affected by deteriorating earnings. Crime policy and enforcement decisions also influence differences in victimization, criminal activity, and punishments. Some policies can have different effects on different groups. For example, the War on Drugs (launched in the early 1980s) resulted in larger increases in incarceration and criminal supervision rates among blacks than among whites. This difference was related, in part, to differences in sentencing and enforcement for crack cocaine—which is more commonly used and sold by blacks—relative to powder cocaine.<sup>6</sup> Drug use also contributes to nondrug crimes—40 to 80 percent of persons arrested for nondrug offenses tested positive for drugs in 1991.<sup>7</sup>

Besides perceptions of discrimination in the criminal justice system, lack of racial and ethnic diversity among those working in criminal justice may also undermine the perceived legitimacy of the system. However, minority representation on local police departments has increased in recent years and is much higher in large cities, which tend to serve more diverse populations (Crime and Criminal Justice 6). Differences in perceptions about the fairness of the police, the courts, prisons, and jails among racial and ethnic groups have been widely noted. National survey data indicate that blacks are more likely than whites to believe that the criminal justice system treats blacks more harshly (Crime and Criminal Justice 7), and some research based on particular groups or cities finds that both whites and members of minority groups believe that discrimination on the basis of race or ethnicity is a problem in the administration of the criminal justice system.<sup>8</sup>

1. Beck, Allen, et al. 1993. *Survey of State Prison Inmates, 1991*. Bureau of Justice Statistics. Washington, DC; Freeman, Richard B. 1992. "Crime and the Employment of Disadvantaged Youth." In *Urban Labor Markets and Job Opportunity*, ed. George E. Peterson and Wayne Vroman. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute Press.
2. U.S. Department of Justice. 1975. "Capital Punishment 1973." *National Prisoners Statistics Bulletin*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
3. See, for example, Russell, Katheryn K. 1998. *The Color of Crime*. New York: New York University Press.
4. Stone, Christopher. 1998. "Race, Crime and the Administration of Justice: A Summary of the Available Facts." Paper presented to the Advisory Board of the President's Initiative on Race, May 19. Blumstein, Alfred, et al. 1983. *Research on Sentencing: The Search for Reform*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
5. Hindelang, Michael J. 1978. "Race and Involvement in Common Law Personal Crimes." *American Sociological Review* 43 (February):93–109; General Accounting Office. 1994. *Racial Differences in Arrests*. Washington, DC.
6. McDonald, Douglas C. and Kenneth E. Carlson. 1993. *Sentencing in the Federal Courts: Does Race Matter? The Transition to Federal Sentencing Guidelines, 1986–90*. Bureau of Justice Statistics. Washington, DC.
7. National Institute of Justice. *Drug Use Forecasting, 1991 annual report*.
8. See, for example, Carter, David L. 1985. "Hispanic Perception of Police Performance: An Empirical Assessment." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 13: 487–500; Moore, David W. and Lydia Saad. 1995. "No Immediate Signs That Simpson Trial Intensified Racial Animosity." *The Gallup Poll Monthly*, October: 2–9; The Gallup Organization. 1997. *The Gallup Poll Social Audit: Black/White Relations in the United States 1997*.

## 1. Victims of Homicide

Source: National Center for Health Statistics

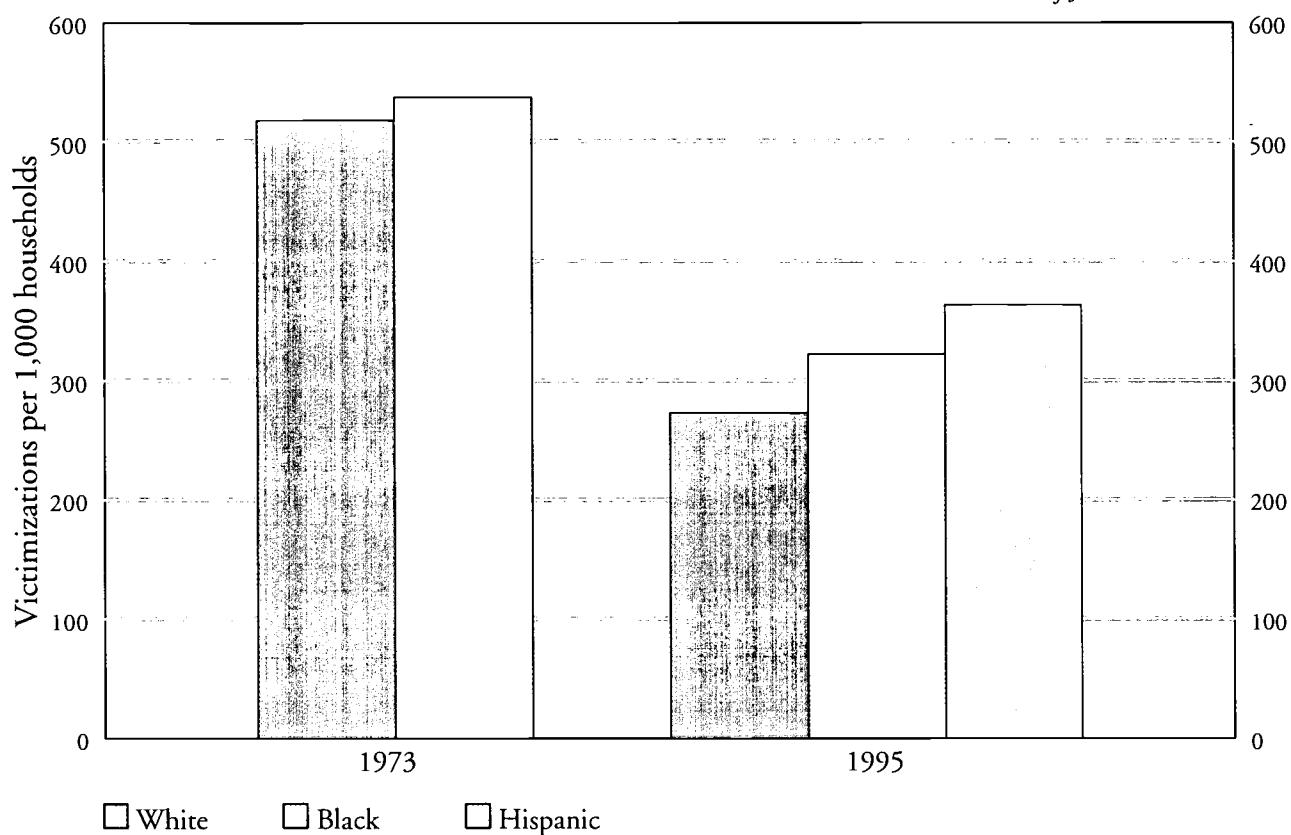


- Homicide victimization rates for blacks have been at least five times those of whites for the last half century, sometimes reaching more than ten times the white rate. In 1996, non-Hispanic whites and Asians had the lowest homicide victimization rates (3.5 and 4.6 per 100,000 resident population), followed by American Indians (9.8), Hispanics (12.4), and blacks (29.8).
- Males are almost four times more likely than females to be victims of homicide (not shown in chart).
- Males aged 15 to 24 (not shown in chart) have the highest homicide victimization rate, and the differences across racial and ethnic groups are even larger for this group: Blacks have by far the highest rate (123.1 per 100,000 population), followed by Hispanics (48.9), American Indians (26.6), Asians (15.6), and non-Hispanic whites (6.4).

*Note: Straight line between dots indicates data are not shown for intervening years. Data include deaths from "legal intervention" (use of police force). Prior to 1985, data for whites include Hispanic whites. Prior to 1970, data include nonresidents.*

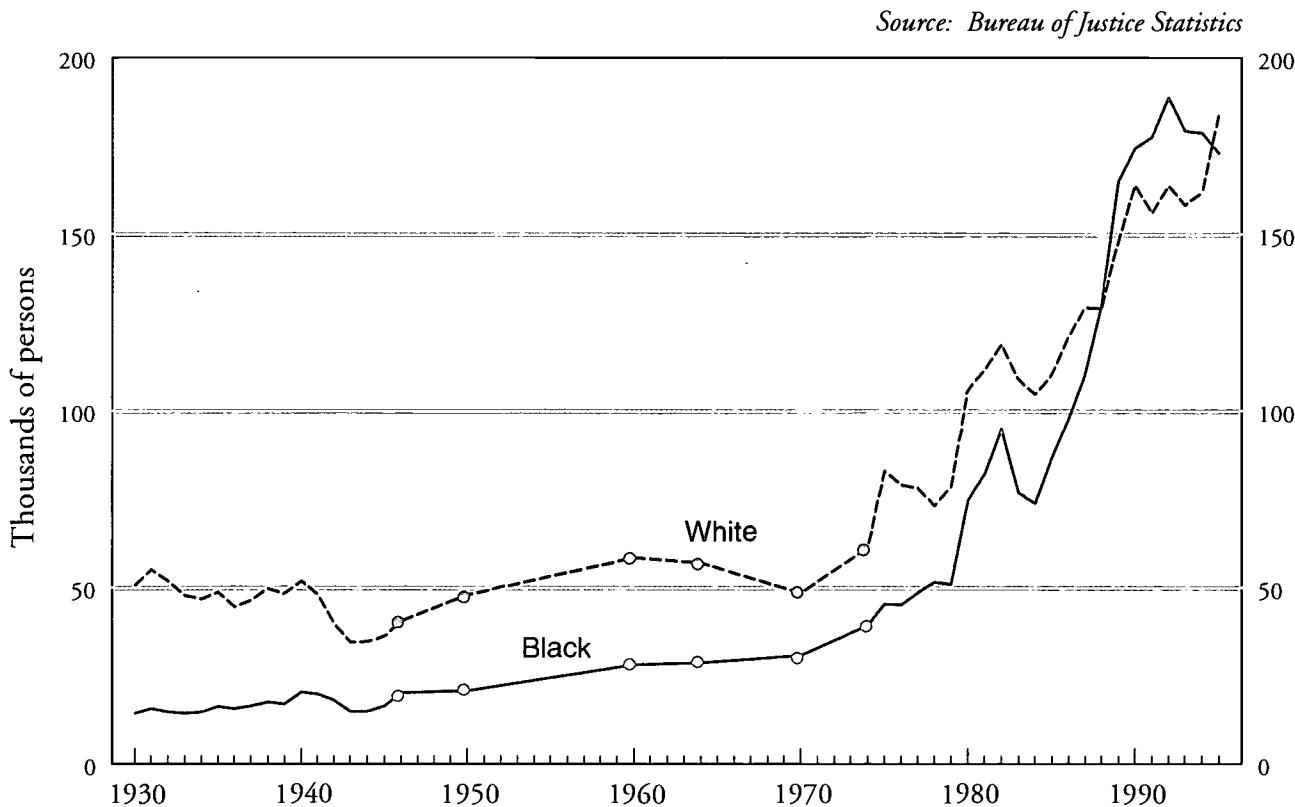
## 2. Victims of Property Crime

Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics



- Property crimes include burglary, motor vehicle theft, and personal theft. Both attempted and completed crimes are reported.
- Differences in property crime victimization rates across racial and ethnic groups are much less pronounced than those for violent crimes such as homicide (not shown in chart).
- Property crime victimization was less frequent in 1995 than 1973 among both black and white households, but differences between these groups grew somewhat. (Data for Hispanics are not available for 1973.)

### 3. Admissions to State and Federal Prisons

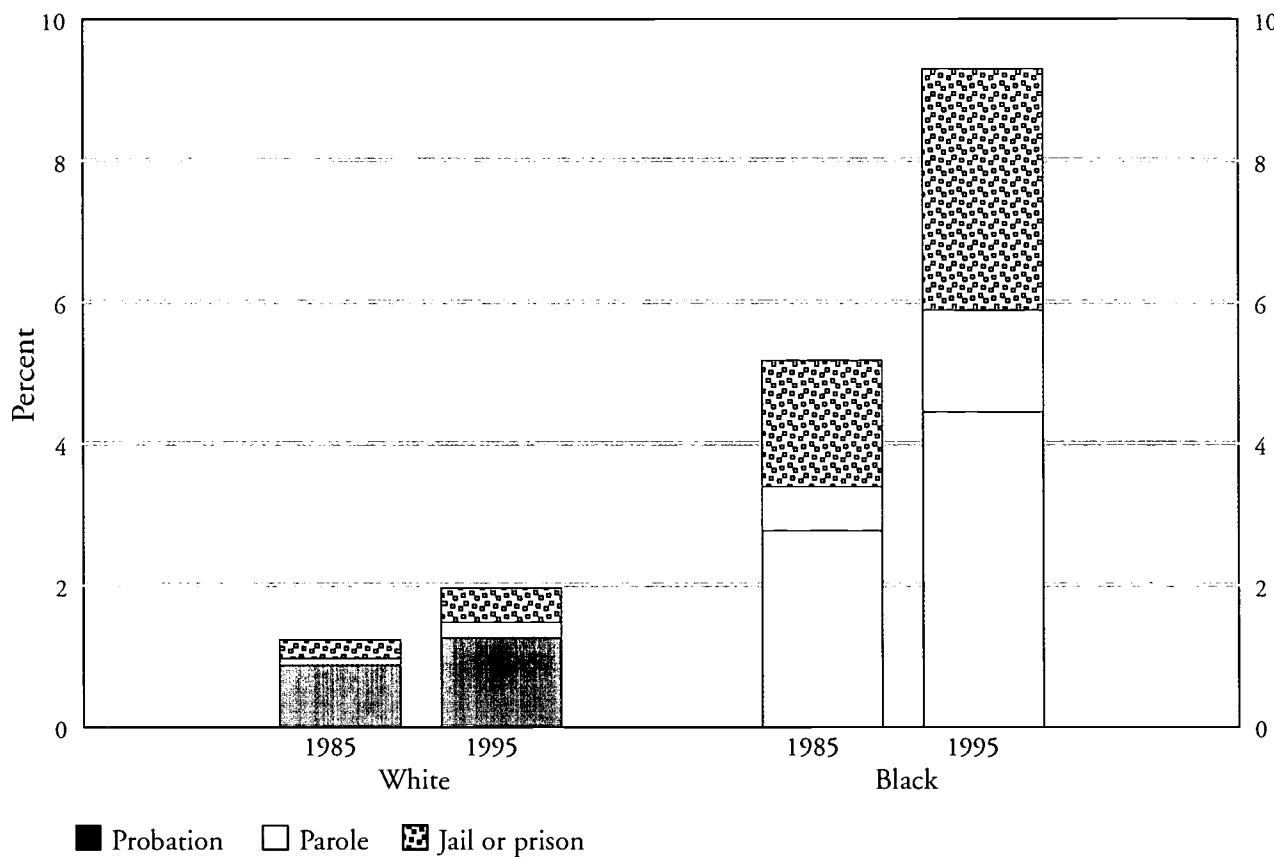


- Prison admissions rose slightly between 1930 and 1970 but have risen substantially since then. Between 1970 and 1995, white admissions more than tripled, and black admissions increased more than five-fold. Admissions of blacks fell slightly between 1992 and 1995.
- Rapidly rising admissions for drug offenses explain part of the recent increase in total admissions. Between 1985 and 1995, the fraction of admissions to state prisons that were for drug offenses grew from 13 to 31 percent (not shown in chart). The fraction of new admissions for drug offenses was similar for blacks and whites in 1985; however, the increase in drug-crime admissions has been much larger for blacks.
- In 1995 women comprised less than 10 percent of new court commitments to state and federal prisons, but prison admissions have been growing faster among women than men (not shown in chart).

*Note: Straight line between dots indicates data are not available for intervening years.*

## 4. Adults under Correctional Supervision

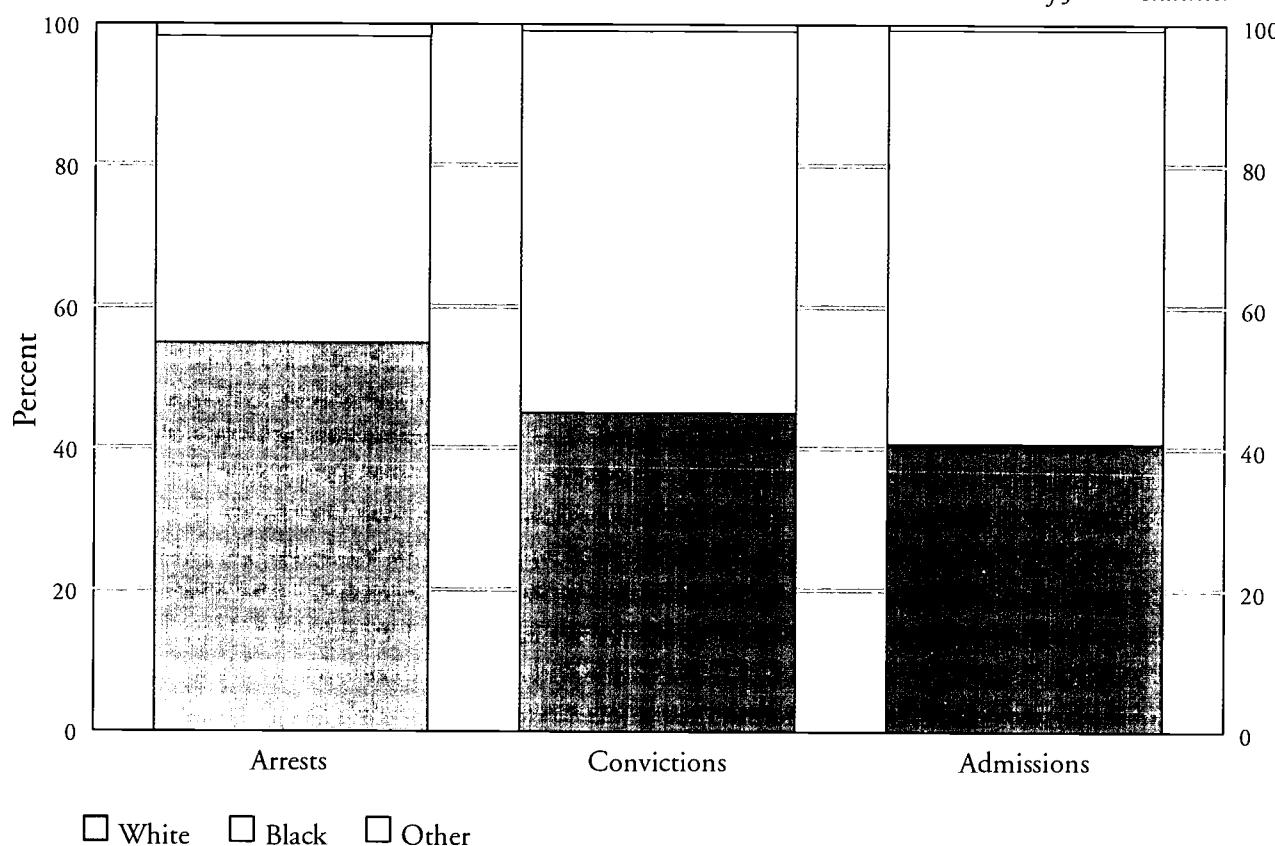
Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics



- The fraction of the adult population under correctional supervision is one indicator of the extent to which the criminal justice system is involved in the lives of individuals and communities.
- The fraction of the population that is involved in the criminal justice system—on probation or parole or in jail or prison—has grown substantially. Between 1985 and 1995, the fraction of white and black adults in each category of supervision grew considerably.
- Black adults were nearly five times more likely than white adults to be under supervision of the criminal justice system in 1995.
- Men aged 20 to 29 are the most likely to be under correctional supervision (not shown in chart). In 1991, about 7 percent of white men and 26 percent of black men in their twenties were under correctional supervision.

## 5. Arrests, Convictions, and Prison Admissions for Violent Crimes, 1994

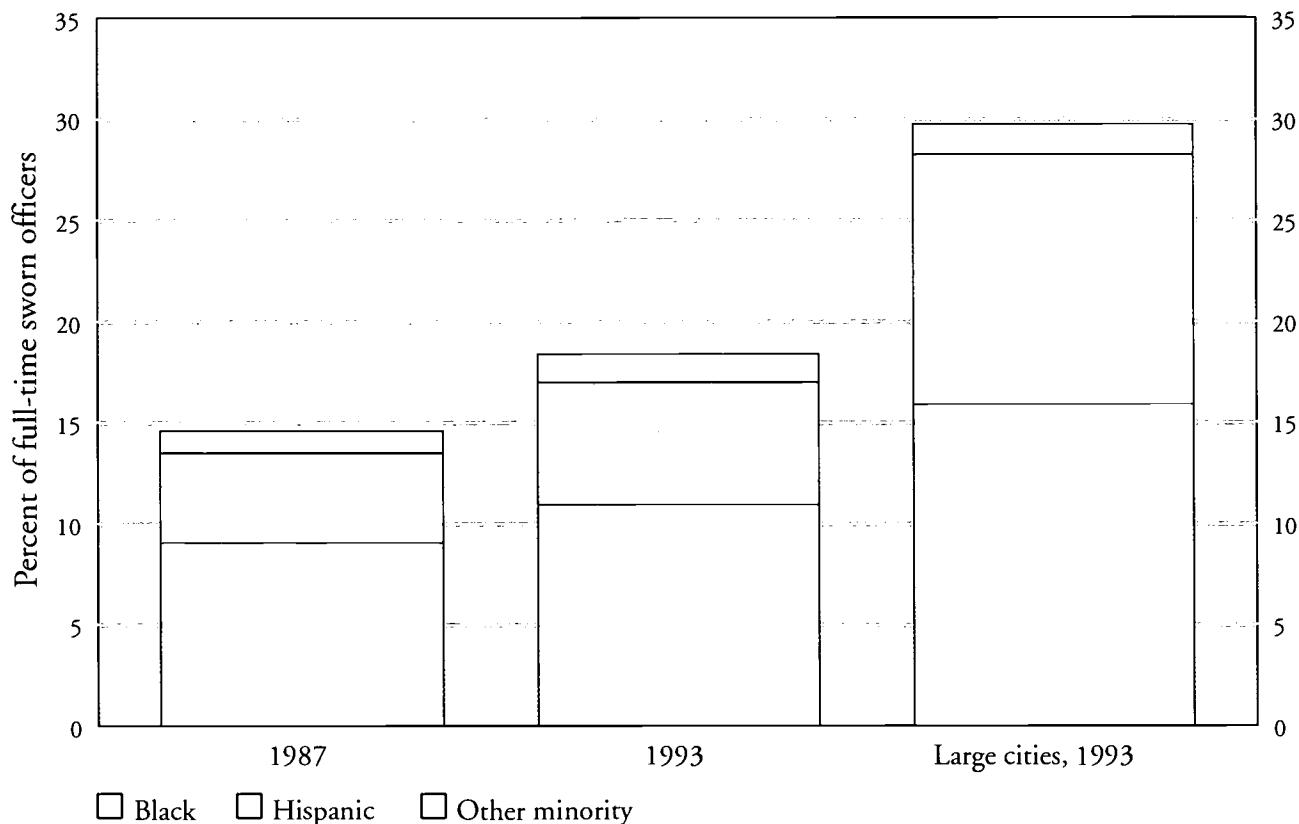
Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics



- This chart shows the racial composition of arrests, convictions, and prison admissions for violent crimes in 1994, including murder, rape, robbery, and aggravated assault.
- Blacks represented 43 percent of arrests, 54 percent of convictions, and 59 percent of prison admissions for violent crimes in 1994. Thus, compared with whites, blacks were more likely to be convicted if arrested and are more likely to be imprisoned if convicted.
- Discriminatory behavior on the part of police and elsewhere in the criminal justice system may contribute to blacks' high representation in arrests, convictions, and prison admissions, although research suggests that other factors may explain much of the difference for violent crimes (see introduction to Crime and Criminal Justice).

## 6. Minority Composition of Local Police and Sheriffs' Departments

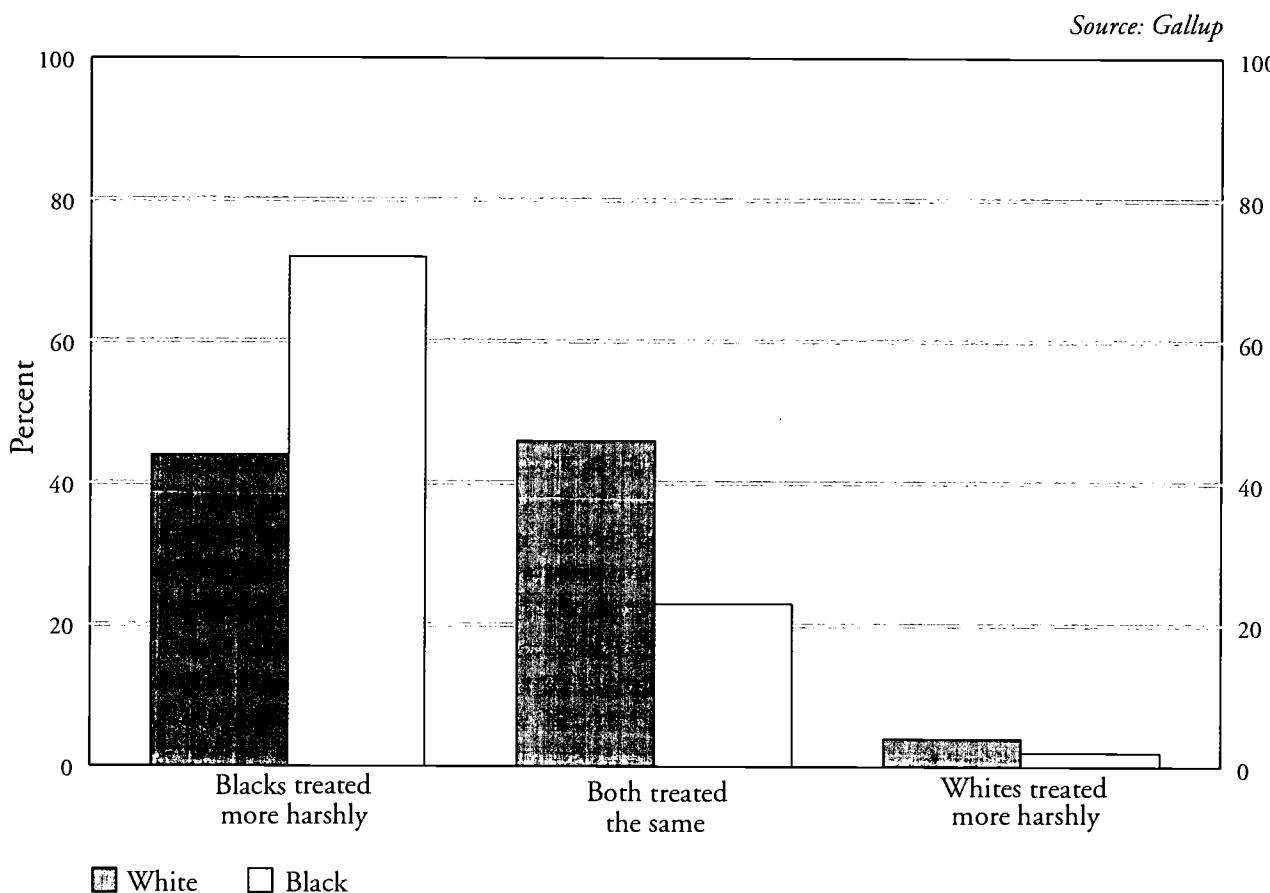
Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics



- The police are typically the first contact with the criminal justice system for both victims and offenders. Higher minority representation among police officers may improve relations between police departments and those they serve, reduce discrimination, and improve police departments' ability to fight crime.
- Total minority representation among full-time sworn officers in local police and sheriffs' departments grew from 15 percent in 1987 to 18 percent in 1993. Representation of blacks grew from 9 to 11 percent, and Hispanic representation grew from 4 to 6 percent.
- Minority representation is higher in police and sheriffs' departments serving larger cities. For example, minorities comprise 30 percent of full-time sworn officers in cities with one million or more, compared with less than 10 percent for departments serving fewer than 50,000 people (not shown in chart).

*Note: Large cities are those with police or sheriffs' departments serving a population of one million or more.*

## 7. Perception of Whether Blacks or Whites are Treated More Harshly by the Criminal Justice System, 1997



- Lack of confidence and perceptions of unfair practices in the criminal justice system may limit its effectiveness, especially since police and prosecutors rely heavily on community members to report crime and act as witnesses.
- This chart presents the opinions of a national sample of whites and blacks (data for other groups are not available) who were asked whether blacks or whites are treated more harshly by the criminal justice system.
- A large percentage of the population, both black and white, perceive that blacks are treated more harshly by the criminal justice system than whites, although blacks are more likely than whites to have this view (72 percent of blacks compared with 44 percent of whites). Forty-six percent of whites perceived that the criminal justice system treats whites and blacks the same, compared with only 23 percent of blacks.

## **VIII. Housing and Neighborhoods**

The housing in which people live and the neighborhoods where they reside may affect a variety of opportunities for children and adults. Poor housing may contribute to a number of adverse health and educational outcomes, particularly in children. For example, severe crowding, indoor air pollution, or deteriorating lead paint may cause or exacerbate diseases such as asthma or lead poisoning, sometimes with long-term effects.<sup>1</sup>

There are currently about 100 million occupied housing units in the United States, of which about two-thirds are owner-occupied. Homeownership has increased in recent years to the highest level in history. The national homeownership rate was 66 percent in 1997, but less than half of black and Hispanic householders owned their homes (Housing and Neighborhoods 1). About 5 million of the 35 million renter households receive some form of federal subsidy.

High housing cost burdens, moderate or severe physical housing problems, and crowding are three commonly used measures of adverse housing conditions.<sup>2</sup> Between 1976 and 1995, the fraction of households with moderately high housing cost burdens (30 to 50 percent of income) rose (Housing and Neighborhoods 2). Over the same period, the physical condition of housing improved markedly. (Housing and Neighborhoods 3). The fraction of households that are crowded (more than one person per room) fell substantially, from 4.6 percent in 1976 to 2.6 percent in 1995 (Housing and Neighborhoods 4). All groups (for which data are available) have generally experienced improvements in housing conditions, although crowding among Hispanic households has risen somewhat in recent years.

Non-Hispanic white households have the best housing conditions according to all three of these measures, but the relative position of the other groups varies depending on the measure. Non-Hispanic black, Hispanic, Asian, and American Indian households are about equally likely to have very high housing cost burdens, and non-Hispanic white households are least likely to have high housing cost burdens. Non-Hispanic black households are more likely than members of other groups to live in units with moderate or serious physical problems, followed by American Indians, Hispanics, Asians, and non-Hispanic whites. Hispanic households are the most likely to be crowded, followed by Asians and American Indians, non-Hispanic blacks, and non-Hispanic whites.

An individual's neighborhood is related to the availability and quality of important amenities such as a safe environment, primary education and other public services, as well as economic opportunities. Growing up in neighborhoods with concentrated poverty, high crime, and poor public schools is associated with poorer educational outcomes and may reduce chances of success in adulthood.<sup>3</sup> Neighborhood quality and the quality of associated services vary considerably depending on the racial and ethnic composition of the population. Non-Hispanic black and Hispanic households tend to report more problems in their neighborhoods, including crime, litter and housing deterioration, and poor public services (Housing and Neighborhoods 5). Concern about crime in neighborhoods rose considerably between 1985 and 1995.

Neighborhoods have long been segregated by race and Hispanic origin, although segregation has fallen somewhat since 1970, particularly between blacks and all others.<sup>4</sup> Because neighborhoods have historically been segregated, public services and other amenities associated with neighborhoods have also been unequally distributed. In addition, the racial and ethnic composition of neighborhoods can play an important role in determining how much interaction individuals have with members of other racial and ethnic groups. Members of each group live

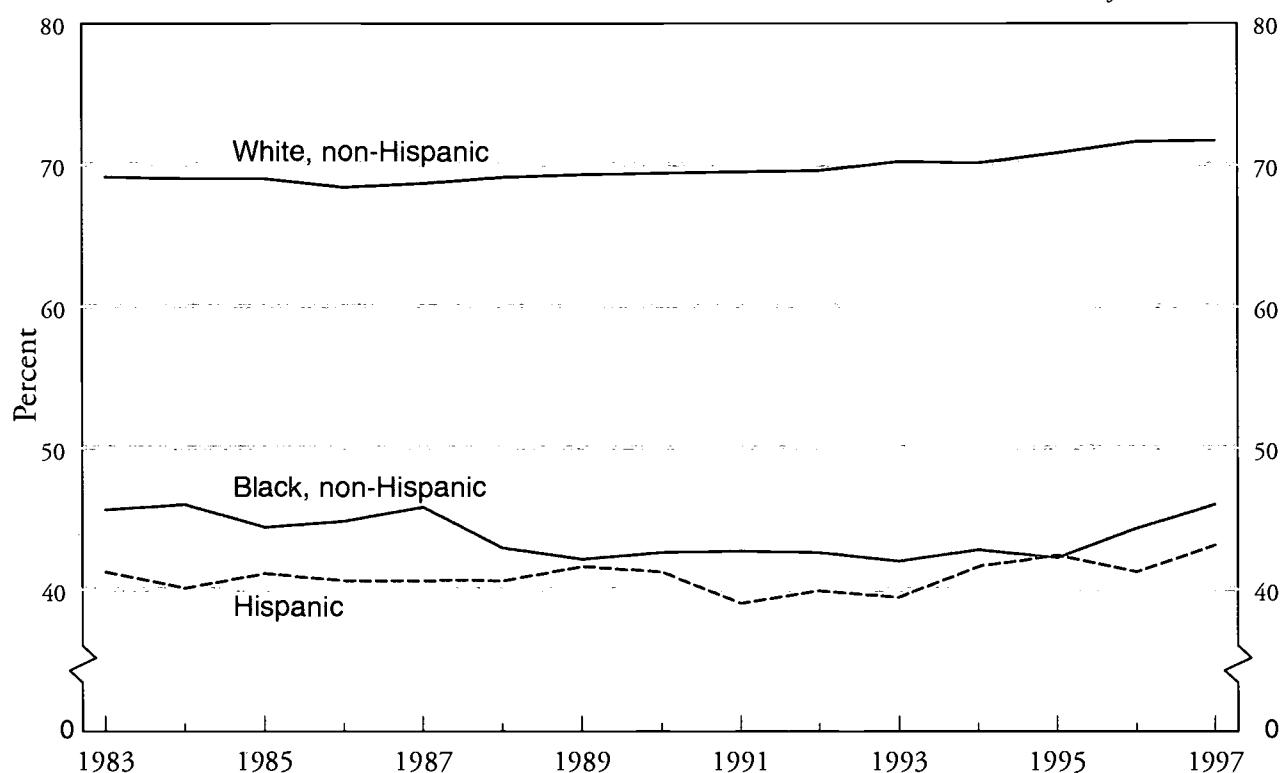
disproportionately with members of the same group (Housing and Neighborhoods 6). According to several measures of segregation, whites and blacks live in more segregated neighborhoods than Asians or Hispanics.<sup>5</sup>

The 1968 Fair Housing Act prohibited discrimination on the basis of race or ethnic origin in housing and mortgage lending. Evidence suggests that the Act may have helped reduce discrimination in housing markets and contributed to declining segregation.<sup>6</sup> Attitudes about racial integration have also changed dramatically: The fraction of whites saying they would move if a black family moved in next door fell from 44 percent in 1958 to 1 percent in 1997 (Housing and Neighborhoods 7). Still, segregation remains high. And continued discrimination in housing and mortgage lending has been clearly documented through audit studies, in which similar white and minority candidates attempt to rent apartments or apply for home mortgage loans. One national study found that the incidence of unfavorable treatment in the housing market was 23 to 30 percentage points higher for a black or Hispanic applicant compared with his or her matched white counterpart.<sup>7</sup>

1. Children's Defense Fund. 1994. *Wasting America's Future*. Boston: Beacon Press.
2. For a description, see 1996. *American Housing Survey for the United States in 1995*. U.S. Department of Commerce and U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. Washington, DC.
3. Ellen, Ingrid Gould and Margery Austin Turner. 1997. "Does Neighborhood Matter? Assessing Recent Evidence." *Housing Policy Debate* 8 (4):833-66.
4. Cutler, David M., Edward L. Glaeser, and Jacob L. Vigdor. 1997. "The Rise and Decline of the American Ghetto." National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper No. 5881; Farley, Reynolds and William H. Frey. 1994. "Changes in the Segregation of Whites from Blacks During the 1980s: Small Steps Toward a More Integrated Society." *American Sociological Review* 59 (February):23-45.
5. Farley and Frey. "Changes in the Segregation of Whites from Blacks During the 1980s."
6. Farley and Frey. "Changes in the Segregation of Whites from Blacks During the 1980s."
7. Turner, Margery Austin, Raymond J. Struyk, and John Yinger. 1991. *Housing Discrimination Study: Synthesis*. U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. Washington, DC.

## 1. Homeownership Rates

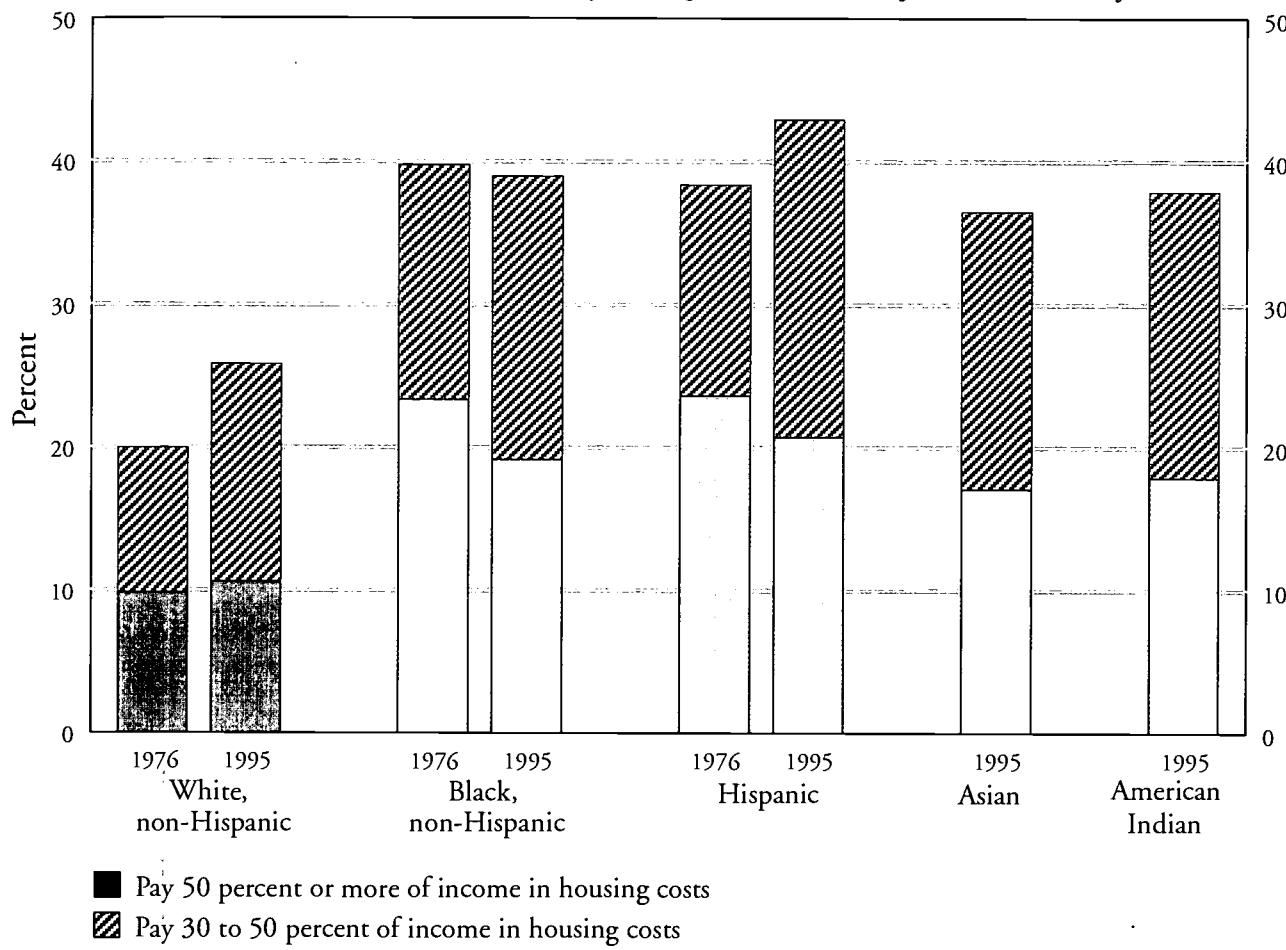
Source: Bureau of the Census



- Homeownership is an indicator of financial well-being and may also contribute to the stability of neighborhoods. The homeownership rate is the percentage of households that own their own homes.
- The homeownership rate of non-Hispanic whites is more than 25 percentage points above that of non-Hispanic blacks and Hispanics. Less than half of non-Hispanic black and Hispanic householders own their own homes.
- Homeownership rates have risen in recent years for all groups, in part because of the aging of the population. The overall rate reached a record high in 1997.

## 2. Households with High Housing Cost Burdens

Sources: Department of Housing and Urban Development and Bureau of the Census



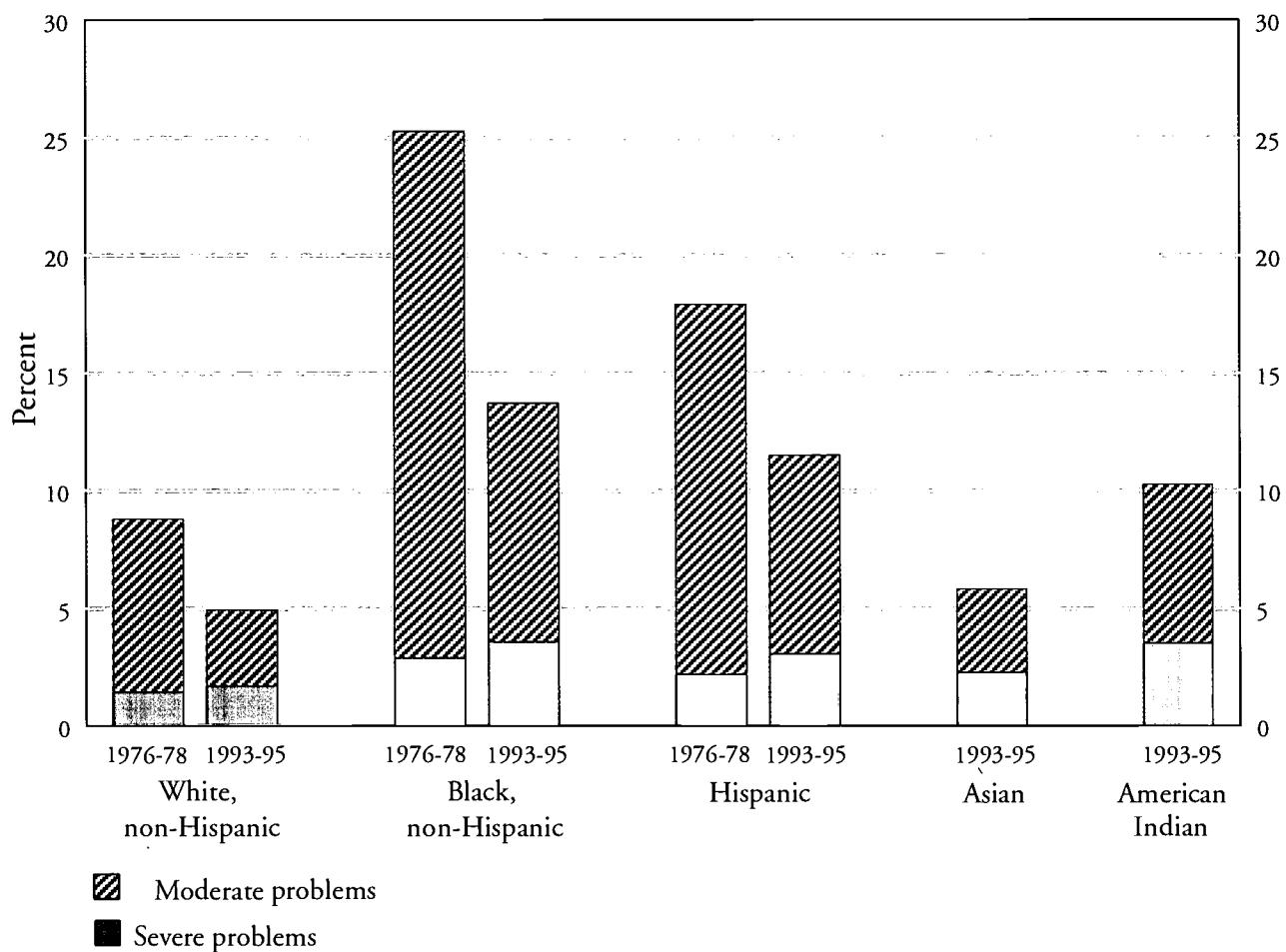
- Pay 50 percent or more of income in housing costs
- ▨ Pay 30 to 50 percent of income in housing costs

- High housing costs limit a household's ability to afford other necessities. Housing expenditures of less than 30 percent of income are considered "affordable," while the Department of Housing and Urban Development considers a household to have "worst case" housing needs if housing costs are more than 50 percent of household income (and income is below 50 percent of the area median).
- Non-Hispanic black, Hispanic, Asian, and American Indian households are nearly twice as likely as non-Hispanic whites to spend 50 percent or more of their income on housing costs. Differences across groups in the fraction paying 30 to 50 percent of income for housing are much less pronounced.
- Between 1976 and 1995, the proportion of non-Hispanic black and Hispanic households facing housing cost burdens of 50 percent or more of income fell slightly, while the proportion facing housing cost burdens between 30 and 50 percent increased. The proportion of non-Hispanic whites in both categories rose. (Data for Asians and American Indians are not available for 1976.)

*Note: Data for Asians exclude Hispanic Asians, and data for American Indians exclude Hispanic American Indians.*

## 3. Housing Units with Physical Problems

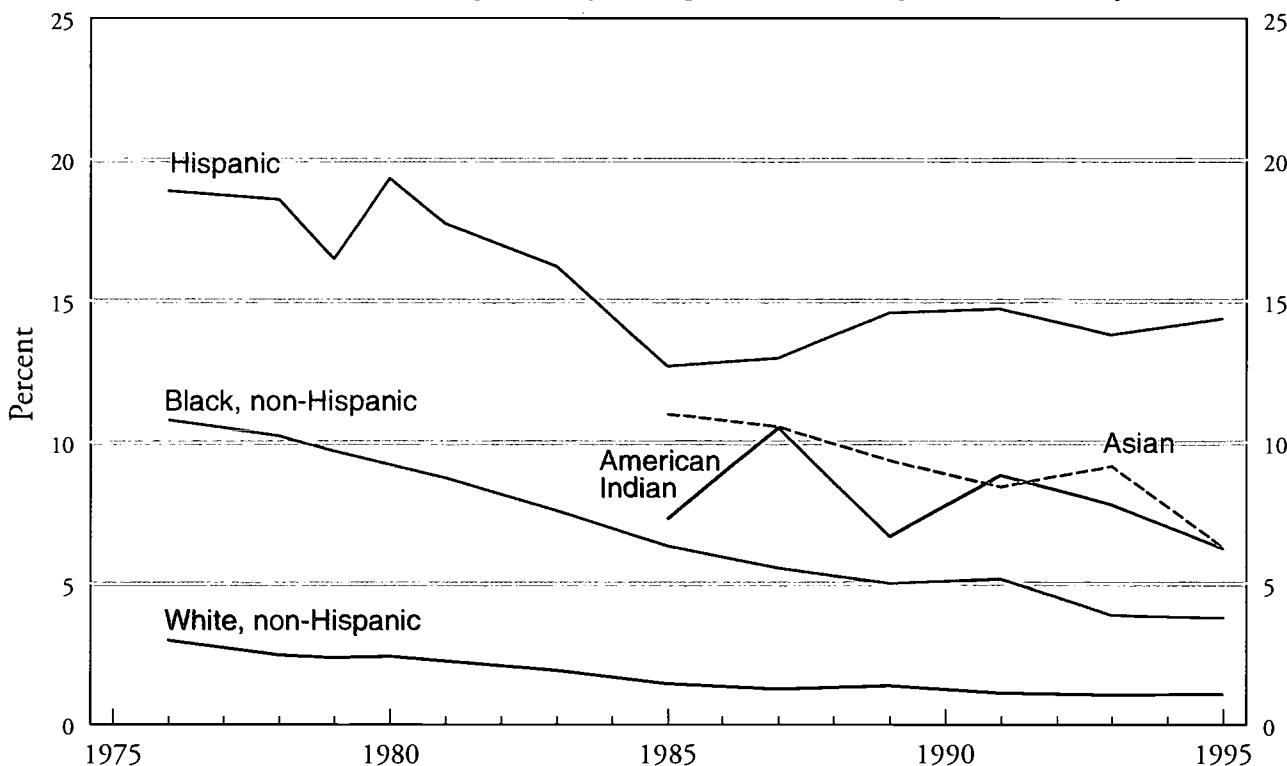
Sources: Department of Housing and Urban Development and Bureau of the Census



- Poor physical housing quality can contribute to health problems, particularly in children. Severe physical problems include lack of indoor plumbing, inadequate heating, electrical problems, and other serious upkeep problems. Moderate physical problems include problems with heating or plumbing or the lack of a kitchen sink, refrigerator, or stove burners.
- In 1993-95 non-Hispanic blacks, Hispanics, and American Indians were more likely than non-Hispanic whites or Asians to live in housing units with serious or moderate physical problems.
- Between 1976-78 and 1993-95, the fraction of households living in units with moderate physical problems fell substantially for all groups for which data are available. The fraction of households living in units with severe problems has risen but is still less than 5 percent for all groups.

#### 4. Crowding: Households with More Than One Person per Room

Sources: Department of Housing and Urban Development and Bureau of the Census

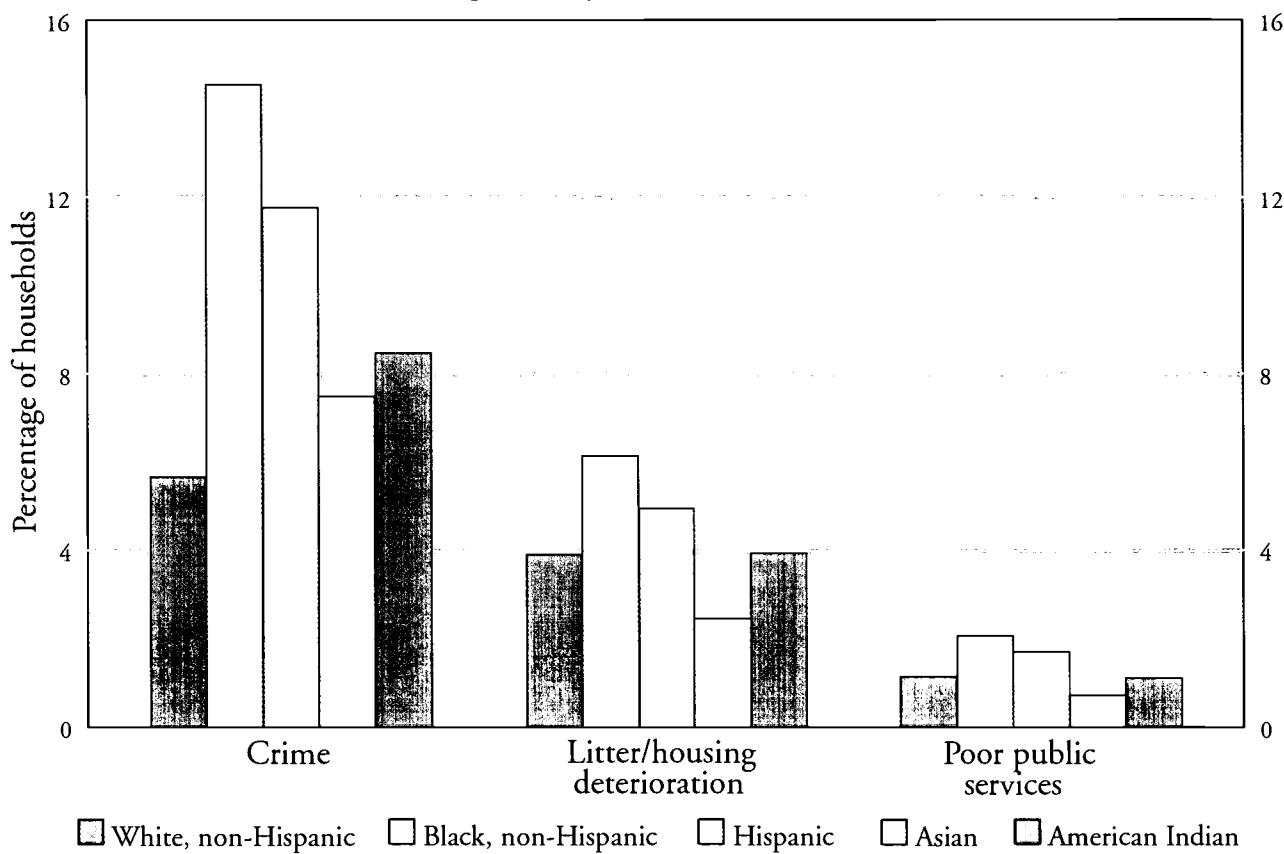


- Crowding is another indicator of housing conditions. A household is considered crowded if it contains more than one person per room. (Rooms used for living space are counted, including bedrooms, living rooms, and kitchens, but bathrooms or rooms created with temporary partitions are not included.)
- In 1995, only about 1 percent of non-Hispanic white households were crowded, with greater crowding among non-Hispanic blacks (4 percent) and Asians and American Indians (6 percent each). Hispanic households were more than twice as likely as any other group to be crowded (14 percent).
- Crowding has declined for all groups since 1976. Among Hispanics, however, crowding rose slightly between 1985 and 1995 after falling considerably between 1975 and 1985.

Note: Data for Asians exclude Hispanic Asians, and data for American Indians exclude Hispanic American Indians.

## 5. Reported Problems in Neighborhood, 1993-95

Source: Department of Housing and Urban Development and Bureau of the Census

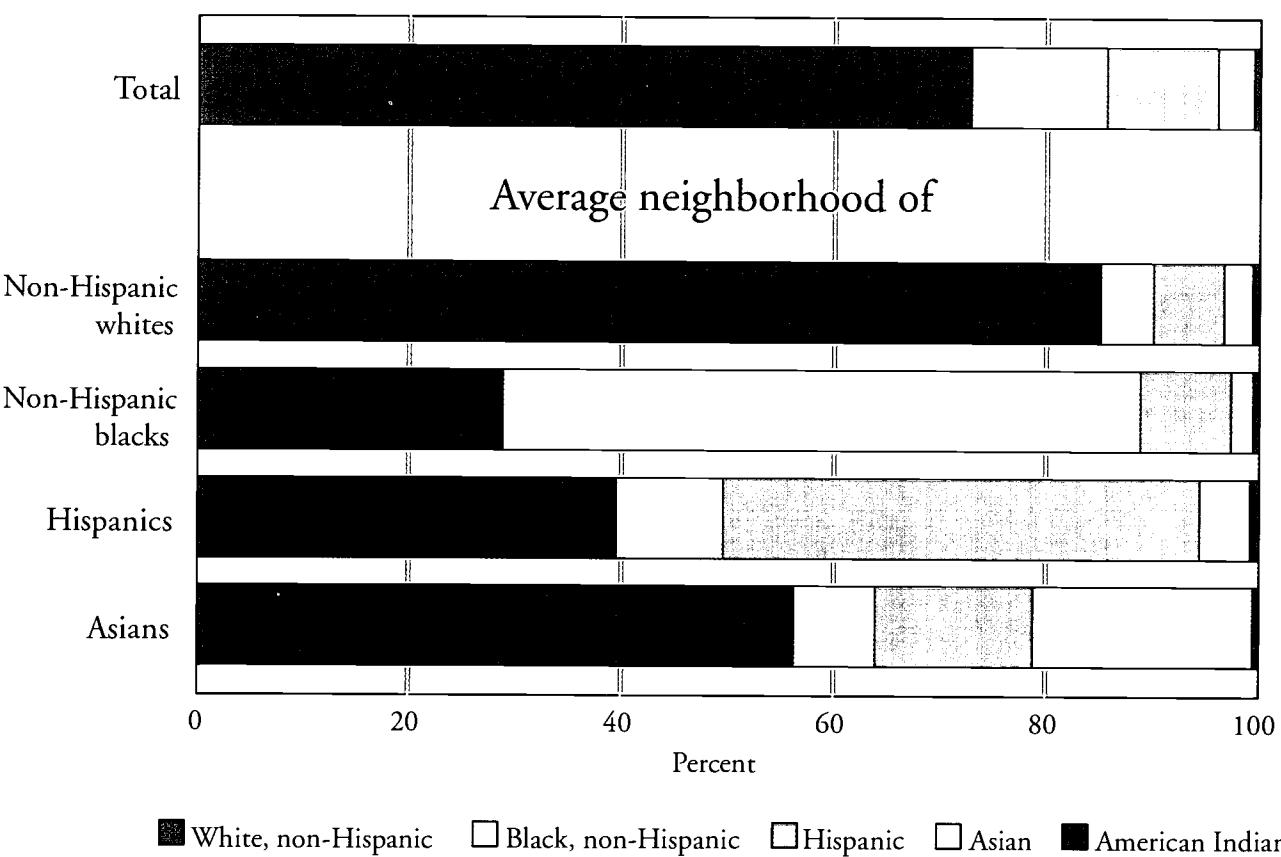


- Households' reports of problems in their neighborhood most likely reflect a combination of objective conditions, expectations, and overall satisfaction with their housing and neighborhood.
- In 1993-95, about 15 percent of non-Hispanic black households reported that crime was a problem in their neighborhood, compared with 12 percent of Hispanics, 8 percent of American Indians, 7 percent of Asians, and 6 percent of non-Hispanic whites. The fraction of households reporting concern about crime rose between 1985 and 1993-95 for all groups except American Indians (not shown in chart).
- Non-Hispanic black and Hispanic households are more likely to report problems with litter and housing deterioration than are American Indians, non-Hispanic whites, and Asians.
- Reported dissatisfaction with public services is 2 percent or less for all groups.

*Note: Data for 1993 and 1995 are averaged to provide more reliable estimates. Data for Asians exclude Hispanics Asians, and data for American Indians exclude Hispanics American Indians.*

## 6. Average Racial and Ethnic Composition of Metropolitan Neighborhoods, 1990

Source: *Reynolds Farley, The New American Reality*

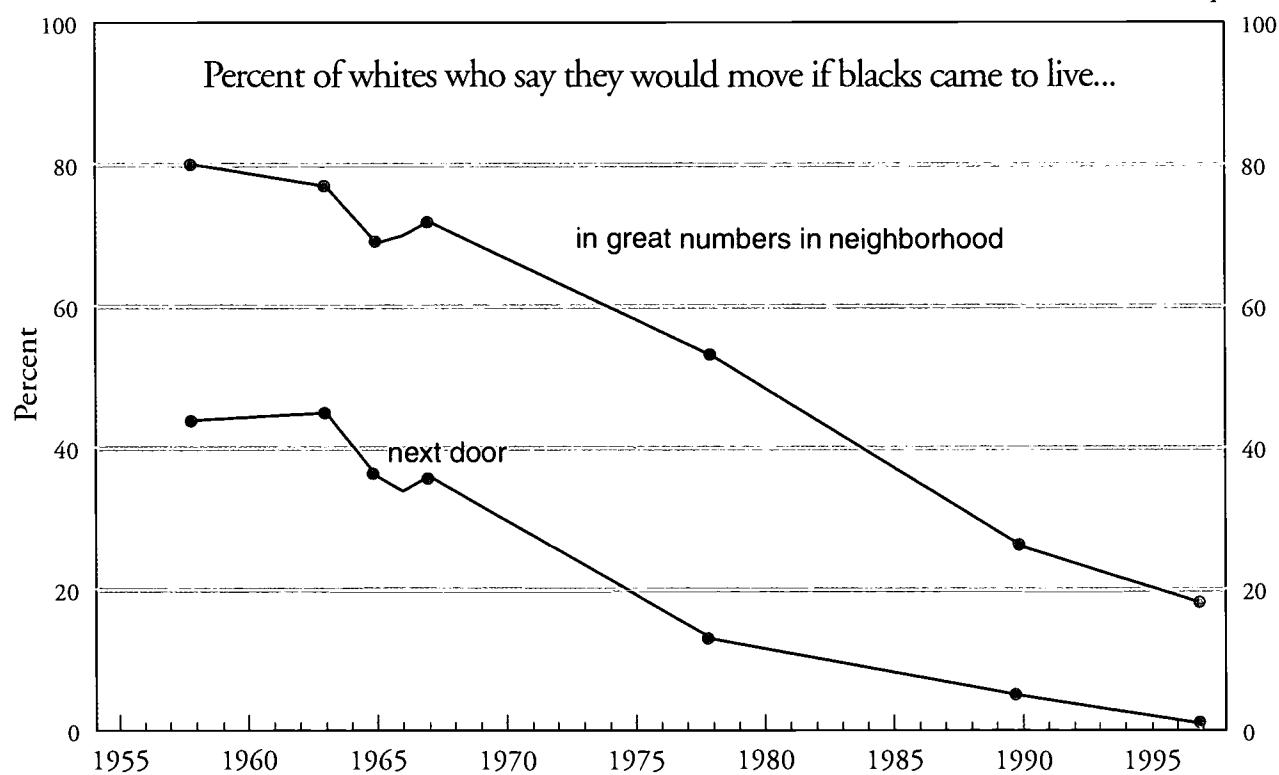


- The racial and ethnic composition of neighborhoods can affect how much interaction individuals have with members of other racial or ethnic groups. This chart shows the average racial and ethnic composition of metropolitan neighborhoods for members of each group.
- Members of each racial and ethnic group live disproportionately with members of the same group.
- Residential segregation of blacks from other groups declined between 1970 and 1990 (not shown in chart). Between 1980 and 1990, residential segregation of Asians and Hispanics from other groups changed little but is still much lower than for blacks.

*Note: Data for Asians exclude Hispanic Asians, and data for American Indians exclude Hispanic American Indians. The American Indian category includes individuals classified as "other."*

## 7. Whites' Attitudes towards Integration

Source: Gallup



- A variety of questions have been used to examine America's changing views on race and racial tolerance. Beginning in 1958, a national sample of whites has been asked whether they would move if "black people came to live next door" or if "black people came to live in great numbers" in their neighborhood.
- The fraction of whites saying they would move if blacks moved in next door fell dramatically from 44 percent in 1958 to 1 percent in 1997. The fraction saying they would move if blacks moved into their neighborhood in large numbers fell from 80 percent to 18 percent over the same period.
- These questions have been consistently asked only of whites, so similar indicators of other groups' views of integration are not available.

Note: Straight line between dots indicates data are not available for intervening years.

## IX. Appendix

For further information on the topics covered in this book, see the following government websites and publications:

### Population

#### *Government websites*

U.S. Bureau of the Census (<http://www.census.gov>)

Census data and publications on population characteristics  
(<http://www.census.gov/prod/www/titles.html#pop>)

Census data and publications on race  
(<http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/race.html>)

Census data and publications on Hispanic origin  
(<http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/hispanic.html>)

### Education

#### *Government websites*

National Center for Education Statistics (<http://www.nces.ed.gov>)

#### *Government publications*

U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. 1997. *Digest of Education Statistics 1997*. Washington, DC.

(<http://www.nces.ed.gov/pubs/digest97>)

U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. 1998. *The Condition of Education 1998*. Washington, DC.

(<http://www.nces.ed.gov/pubs98/condition98/>)

U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. 1998. *Projections of Education Statistics to 2008*. Washington, DC.

(<http://www.nces.ed.gov/spider/webspider/98016XXXXX.html>)

### Labor Markets

#### *Government websites*

Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) (<http://stats.bls.gov>)

Current Population Survey (<http://stats.bls.gov/cpshome.htm>)

Monthly Labor Review (<http://stats.bls.gov/opub/mlr/mlrhome.htm>)

#### *Government publications*

U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. *Employment and Earnings*. Washington, DC.

(<http://stats.bls.gov/cpshome.htm>)

## Economic Status

### *Government websites*

- U.S. Bureau of the Census (<http://www.census.gov>)
- Census data and publications on income  
(<http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/income.html>)
- Census data and publications on wealth  
(<http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/wealth.html>)
- Census data and publications on poverty  
(<http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/poverty.html>)

### *Government publications*

- Lamison-White, Leatha. 1997. *Poverty in the United States: 1996*. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P60-198. Washington, DC.  
(<http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/povty96.html>)

## Health

### *Government websites*

- National Center for Health Statistics (<http://www.cdc.gov/nchswww>)
- Healthy People 2010 (<http://www.health.gov/healthypeople>)
- Center for Disease Control (<http://www.cdc.gov/cdc.html>)
- The Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration  
(<http://www.samhsa.gov>)
- The Office of Minority Health Resource Center (<http://www.omhrc.gov>)
- Improving Services for Hispanics  
(<http://www.dhhs.gov/about/heo/hispanic.html>)
- Indian Health Service (<http://www.ihs.gov>)
- The Minority Health Project (sponsored by the National Center for Health Statistics)  
(<http://www.minority.unc.edu>)

### *Government publications*

- National Center for Health Statistics. 1998. *Health United States 1998 with Socioeconomic Status and Health Chartbook*. Hyattsville, MD. (See also previous annual editions; 1990 edition includes a chartbook on minority health.)
- U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. 1990. *Healthy People 2000: National Health Promotion and Disease Prevention Objectives*. Washington, DC: Public Health Service.
- U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. 1985. *Report of the Secretary's Task Force on Black and Minority Health*. Volume 1. Washington, DC: Public Health Service.
- U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. 1998. *Tobacco Use Among U.S. Racial/Ethnic Minority Groups—African Americans, American Indians and Alaska Natives, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, and Hispanics: A Report of the Surgeon General*. Atlanta, Georgia: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. (<http://www.cdc.gov/nccdphp/osh/sgr-minorities.htm>)

## Crime and Criminal Justice

### *Government websites*

The Bureau of Justice Statistics (<http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs>)

### *Government publications*

U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics. 1997. *Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics, 1996*. Washington, DC. (<http://www.albany.edu/sourcebook/>)

Langan, P. A. *The Racial Disparity in U.S. Drug Arrests*. 1995. Report for Attorney General.

Langan, P. A., and Brown, J. M. *Felony Sentences in State Courts, 1994*. 1997. US Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, Washington, DC.

*Racial Disparities in Federal Death Penalty Prosecutions, 1988-1994*. 1994. US Congress House Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights, Washington, DC.

*United States Sentencing Commission Annual Report 1996*. 1997. United States Sentencing Commission, Washington, DC.

*United States Sentencing Commission Sourcebook of Federal Sentencing Statistics*. 1997. United States Sentencing Commission, Washington, DC.

*Survey of State Prison Inmates, 1991*. 1993. US Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, Washington, DC.

(<http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/pub/ascii/sospi91.txt>)

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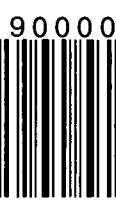
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